

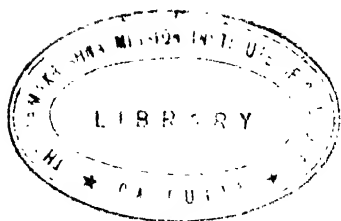
GLIMPSES OF KALINGA HISTORY

BY MANMATHA NATH DAS



CENTURY PUBLISHERS

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To
MY FATHER

PREFACE

This book does not claim to offer a full-fledged history of Orissa. Only some important chapters of the ancient and medieval portions of that history have been dealt with. I have deliberately used the name 'Kalinga' instead of 'Orissa', because I think all the glories of Orissa are associated with that great, ancient, and historic name. The land corresponding roughly with the contours of modern Orissa, but much larger in area, was famous in the name of Kalinga from the earliest times till the middle ages. Though the names 'Utkal' and 'Orissa' are quite old and famous, yet these names pale into insignificance before that broader and more grandiose name, 'Kalinga'. In the Epics of India the name 'Kalinga' shines with unbedimmed glow ; the same name is very famous in the Hindu Puranas and the Buddhistic and Jainistic literatures of different times. Many remarkable events of the ancient and the medieval history of India are intimately connected with that name. The epoch-making war of Asoka is known as the Kalinga War ; the great empire of Kharavela is famous as the Empire of Kalinga ; Indian colonies of the early and middle ages were founded by colonists from Kalinga and were known after the name of Kalinga. The term 'Kalinga' undoubtedly stands for a greater significance and a wider fame. I preferred that name as it was indispensable in the treatment of some important topics.

I had to complete this work within a very short time. Practically the whole of my energy had been devoted to see that the facts presented here were correct and accurate and not spurious. So, little attention could be paid to style,

exposition and other paraphernalia which make execution flawless. I will be fortunate if the kind reader will treat the errors of commission and omission arising out of a hasty composition and a more hasty publication with levity.

I would venture to claim a little bit of originality over a few pages of this book dealing with the relation of Kalinga with Ceylon. While leading an excursion party in South India, I managed to cross over to that sister-island and, during a very brief stay there, felt inspired to peep into the past relation between the two countries. I have drawn just a very lean and faint sketch of the political and cultural relation which existed between Kalinga and Ceylon since the time of Vijaya in the 5th century B.C. till the advent of the Europeans over the Indian scene. I may request the scholars of Orissa to take up this hitherto neglected subject for a more detailed study, to encourage researches over the same, and thus to help open a new chapter in the past history of Orissa.

As the title of the book indicates, my essays will appear as mere glimpses to the reader and not as a continuous narrative. I think, the students who take up 'History of Orissa' as their subject in B.A., may profit from the perusal of these essays. Indeed, I will think my labour amply rewarded if this inconsiderable volume of mine be kindly accepted by the students of Orissa.

In bringing out this book I have been immensely helped by my much-esteemed professor, Principal Sri Ghana Shyam Das B.A. (London). I consider myself fortunate for being able to draw the kind attention of this vastly learned scholar, who has been a professor of history for nearly a quarter of a century, to the field of my study. I am really grateful to him for his kind encouragement and invaluable guidance.

I must also express my indebtedness to that eminent historian, Hon'ble Sri Harekrishna Mahatab, the Premier of Orissa. Even in the busy life of a politician he finds time to enrich the historical literature of this land. At every possible chance I gathered valuable historical materials from him which helped me a good deal in carrying on my work. His monumental volume the 'History of Orissa' and the information obtained personally from him were also of great use to me. I offer my sincere thanks to Babu Sri Achyutananda Das, Mukhtar, Balasore Bar, who extended his helping hand to remove the financial difficulties which stood in the way of bringing out this work. Last but not least, I extend my cordial thanks to Prof. Sri Kshitish Chandra Deb, Prof. Sri Trilochan Misra, Sri Mrutyunjay Jena, and Sri Jayanta Kumar Pal who, by their kind and ungrudging help, rendered my work easier.

MANMATHIA NATH DAS.

October, 1949

Balasore.

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GLIMPSES OF KALINGA HISTORY

KALINGA IN THE GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA

“The vast country on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, which extended from the Delta of the Ganges to that of Godavari was called Kalinga in ancient times.”—Dr. R. D. Banerji.

The geographical situation is greatly responsible for a country's greatness. At all times of history and in all parts of the world a favourable geography has always helped men to proceed on the path of progress with a greater advantage. The early civilisations took their birth in the fertile valleys of the river Nile, the Euphrates, the Indus and the Yellow river. Human settlements took place where geography provided men with food and climatic comfort. Mass migrations took place from worse to better lands. In the middle ages when the quest for further worlds began, it was the men on the shores who sailed across the seas. On the favoured spots of geography grew the most luxurious plants of civilisation,—religion and art.

Kalinga, that extensive territory between the Ganges and the Godavari, occupied a unique and interesting position in the geography of India. If in past the inhabitants of this land happened to be one of the most enterprising and prosperous peoples of

India, it was mainly due to the wonderful position that Kalinga enjoyed. With the vast land-mass of Aryavarta on her back, with the fertile valley of Ganga-Brahmaputra on one side and the Godavari-Krishna doab on the other, and with the mighty water mass of Indian Ocean at her feet, Kalinga enjoyed a commanding geographical position. Guarding the land between the impassable Vindhya and the seas, she was the gateway between Aryavarta and Dakshinapatha. Guarding the seas, she was the gateway between India and further Asia. As a result of this strategy Kalinga played a vital role in the cultural fusion of North and South as well as in the oceanic adventure of India. Add to this fortunate situation of Kalinga in the map of India, Kalinga had a better climatic advantage to her merit over most parts of India. The Indian ocean provided her with an equable climate, the tropic gave her abundant rain, innumerable small and big rivers that cut through her rendered her into a bed of alluvium. Nature's bounty gave men ample wealth and leisure out of which, as it has been everywhere in rich climates, grew up a very luxurious culture. A little more detail on these points will clarify the fact.

In the topography of India the Vindhya presents a peculiar phenomenon. The Vindhya is not as high as the Himalayas to make the Deccan and the Aryavarta two distinct lands as Tibet and India. Neither is it as low as the Eastern Ghats to make

India a vast plain without any imposing barrier. The Deccan Table land, rightly observes Dr. Beni-prasad, is clearly separated, but not completely shut off, from the Indo-Gangetic plains by the Vindhya and Satpura ranges of hills. Consequently the Vindhya played a double role. All throughout the ancient and medieval ages she stood as a veritable wall between the north and the south of India making a complete union of the whole country impossible. Rightly to some extent, the presence of the Vindhya led Dr. Vincent Smith to regard the Northern India and the Deccan as two 'Geographical compartments'. Yet this diversity in India had to go, because the Vindhya was not as invincible as the Himalayas. Yet the unity was difficult because Vindhya was not as lowly as the Eastern Ghats. The move to bind India into one with a cultural tie became a process of history. The pressure of civilisation from the Aryavarta broke forth into the Deccan through that strip of land between the Bay of Bengal and the Vindhya. This was the country of Kalinga where the Vindhya did not impose her height neither did the sea her depth, leaving her as a strip of plain land to serve as a gateway between the north and the south. Thus, while the Vindhya in the topography of India tried to keep the north and the south separate from each other, the plain of Kalinga offered an unbounded opportunity for a cultural union of the two. All through ages the role of Kalinga in the

cultural assimilation of north and south has been conspicuously important. It began before the age of history or at its dim dawn. The primitive inhabitants of India, the Dravidians, were the first people to have moved from the north towards the south with a great civilisation of their own through Kalinga. More than six thousand years ago, long before the Aryans had come to India, a highly civilised people lived in the Indus valley. They were the Dravidians. Very probably, the early Dravidians came from the North-west and settled down in the fertile plains of Sind and the Punjab. At that time the climate of Sind and the Punjab was very favourable for such a settlement and naturally there grew up a brilliant valley civilisation. According to some learned scholars perhaps the Dravidians were a branch of the Sumerian race of Mesopotamia or that they had close relation with that people. Many articles such as ornaments and vessels have been dug out from the depths of the Indus sand and they look like the ornaments and vessels dug out from the buried cities of the Sumerian past. The Dravidians possessed a great culture of their own. From the tombs of the Dravidians in Sind, copper and bronze weapons and ornaments have been found out. They also knew the use of gold and silver and used golden crowns and armlets. The Dravidians were builders of great cities. Two of such cities have been dug out by the modern men, one is at Harappa in the Punjab and

the other is at Mohenjodaro in Sind. The ruins of both these cities proclaim to the world as to what a great civilisation the Dravidians of India had in pre-Aryan days. In course of time the race of the Dravidians began to expand. The spirit of exploration, the eternal quest after new and better home, necessitated and encouraged by the growth of population, led the Dravidians to descend upon the Gangetic plain. Thus the entire Indo-Gangetic plain came under the pale of Dravidian civilisation. But that was not all. In due course of time population wanted further expansion. But this mighty momentum of the northern pressure had to be checked at the feet of the Vindhyas. Yet the pressure was too forceful to burst forth through any possible leakage. Such a leakage was provided with by the plain of Kalinga. From Kalinga they made their way into the Dakshinapatha. Thus the wave of a great civilisation spread over Kalinga, a civilisation that was as great as the civilisation of Egypt or of Babylon, and a civilisation that could give a Mahenjodaro or Harappa to India. We do not know who were the earliest inhabitants of Kalinga, but whosoever they might have been their civilisation was superseded by that of the Dravidian. Doubtless as it is, Kalinga became a new home of the Dravids and a centre of their civilisation. It was from Kalinga that they moved upward to their northern home in the Indo-Gangetic plain and downward to their prospective

field of expansion in the Deccan. But a hard time was now ahead of them. From shores of the distant Caspian there appeared on the North-Western frontier of India a new people, a race of invaders, the Aryans. In the long and hard struggle that ensued between the Dravidians and the Aryans, the former had to fall back gradually upon the Gangetic plain yielding ground to the victorious Aryans till finally the whole of the Indo-Gangetic plain became Aryanised. It was a time of a great change in northern India, a change in race and in civilisation. The result of this change was the mass migration of the Dravidians from the North to the South. Through the plain of Kalinga the tide of this migrating population passed by till it flooded the whole of the Deccan. The tail of the tide however remained in Kalinga which land became the last line of the Dravidian defence against the on-rushing Aryans. The Aryan invasion in the mean time had covered the whole of northern India and was hammering before the gates of Kalinga to find out a way into the south. Kalinga yielded to the Aryan pressure. Thus as in the Gangetic valley so also in the plain of Kalinga there ensued the struggle between the Aryans and the Dravidians for the mastery over the south. But here the struggle took up a different shape. Over the long road of time the Aryans and the Dravidians had fought for ages from the Hindukush to the mouth of the Ganges. During the

course of this struggle time applied its uniting balm on both peoples resulting in slow but continuous fusion of two civilisations. The culmination of this cultural fusion was reached on the shores of Kalinga. While struggle for the Dakhin was going on in Kalinga at the surface of things, at their deep depth the final assimilation of both the civilisations was going on at rapid speed. Finally when the two civilisations had embraced each other, each absorbing something of the other, there operated an unconscious process of understanding and unity. The Dravidians began to worship the Aryan gods and vice versa. Inter-marriage became frequent. Arts of warfare, hunting, and cultivation changed hands. Thus the cultural fusion led the Dravidians and the Aryans to march on a common path which resulted in the end of the age-old struggle. The land to the north of the Vindhya became the home of the Aryans and was named as Aryavarta. To the south of the Vindhya it became the land of the Dravidas. While India was thus divided into Aryavarta and Dakshinapatha, one being the home of the Aryans and the other of the Dravidians, Kalinga for her unique position of being the gate-way between the north and the south became the home of both the peoples. Upon her soil remained the last trail of Dravidian emigrants into the south and the first spearhead of the Aryan invaders from the north. There the two civilisations rubbed their shoulders and embraced each other.

There worked the process of unity in the midst of diversity. Nowhere in India is to be found such a wonderful assimilation of the Aryan and the Dravidian civilisations as in Kalinga. Nowhere in India is to be found two diverse peoples like the Dravidians and the Aryans living side by side and amalgamating each other into one people as there. The credit for such a wonderful phenomenon goes to the Indian geography which gave Kalinga such a wonderful situation. All through ages the swarms of ideas have swept through Kalinga from north to the south and vice versa. Great religious movements of north and south have made their way through Kalinga towards opposite directions. And all along her history Kalinga has acted as a veritable furnace to boil and melt into one all the diverse religions and different ideologies of India.

This was therefore the importance of Kalinga as the gateway between the north and the south. But her importance as the gateway of India for the further Asia was still greater. Kalinga played the same part in the ancient and medieval history of India what Holland and Portugal played in the history of Europe in their hey-day of maritime activity. Across the waves lay the islands of Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo, and Malaya and far beyond them in the farthest east lay the Easter Islands and then Peru and Mexico. From the very dawn of civilisation onwards the people from the shores of India pierced

through the unknown blue and colonised the far off lands. Evidences are ample and established on the maritime adventure of the ancient Indians and on the spread of the Indian civilisation in farther Asia and the Pacific Islands. Even the traces of the Hindu civilisation have been discovered in the New World. Speculations are ahead if the Maya civilisation of America was the result of the Indian impact across the Pacific. Thus undoubted as it is, like the ancient Egyptians and the Greeks, the ancient Indians had a glorious record of their oceanic adventure and an admitted fact as it has been, of all the peoples of the Indian sub-continent it was the people of Kalinga who were the best sailors and the foremost seafaring people. Well says Dr. R. D. Banerji, "It is dawning upon us slowly that in the very dawn of the Indian history the people of Kalinga were the pioneers of Indian colonisation in Further India and the Indian Archipelago. It would not be strange at all to find that the Chalcolithic civilisation of these people extended as far as the Easter Islands and perhaps to Peru and Mexico. In my opinion the people of Kalinga who have been proved to be the pioneer colonists of India, Indonesia, and Oceania, are probably the very same people whom the modern barbarians of the Pacific and Indian oceans regard with awe and wonder as people from the sky who civilised them and taught them the rudiments of culture." Traces and evidences of the Kalingan influence in the trans-

oceanic lands are ample. According to tradition that flows out from the Buddhistic Jatakas, Vijaya, son of a Kalinga prince, seized the island of Ceylon from the Yakshas shortly after the death of Gautam Buddha. This is undoubtedly a reference to the earliest wave of Aryan migration from the shores of Kalinga to the far off Ceylon. Many such waves of both Dravidian and Aryan migration were to follow in later times to flood Ceylon with a type of Dravido-Aryan civilisation. If the Indian civilisation is proud to have triumphed over the earliest Vadda culture of Ceylon it was to a large extent due to the colonising spirit of the people of ancient Kalinga. As in Ceylon so also in other parts. The people of Tri Kalinga, which was a part of ancient Kalinga, colonised Burma long before the dawn of Christian era. Both in the coastal region as well as in the interiors of Burma Hindu colonies were founded. As a matter of fact "The entire culture and civilisation of Burma was of Indian origin and although the Chinese were near neighbours of the Burmese, and more allied to them in blood and speech, they exercised no influence, worth speaking of, in this direction". The principal inhabitants of lower Burma are called as the Talaings even today, a name that had been derived from the word Tri Kalinga. To the north of the Talaing area lay another Hinduised kingdom with Srikshetra as its capital. The name Srikshetra in Kalinga with its namesake in Burma suggests a colonial and cultural

relation between the two countries. As regards Kalinga and the Malayasia the relations were too deep and too potential. Long before the Christian era, settlers from Kalinga entered into the islands of Java and settled there. Since then the contact became frequent. In later times continuous flow of Kalingan emigrants streamed into Java. By the 6th and 7th century A.D. a very powerful kingdom had been already established by the settlers from Kalinga in the very heart of Java. This kingdom had its name as Kalinga what the Chinese called as Holing. The climax of colonisation however was reached in the 8th century A.D. About the beginning of this century the imperial Sailodbhavas of Kalinga migrated into Java and with the help of the early Kalinga settlers of that country they established there a powerful ruling dynasty of their own. This was the famous Sailendra dynasty of Subarnadwipa. The age of the Sailendras was the golden age of the Javanese history. In its hey-day the dynasty united most of the small states in the islands of the far east under its powerful sceptre. The kingdoms of Sumatra, Bali, and the Malaya Peninsula formed parts of the Sailendra empire. A new and brilliant civilisation was introduced by the Sailendras in Subarnadwipa. Splendid monuments of Chandi-Kalasan and Barabudur stand till today to proclaim to the world in glowing terms the pomp and splendour of the Sailendra civilisation, a civilisation that was a

daughter civilisation of the civilisation of Kalinga. Beyond the Indian Archipelago lay Cambodia and Annam. Remains of the Hindu civilisation are ample in these lands to prove their age-long relation with India. It was through the Sailendra empire that Kalinga lighted out her civilisation to these far off lands.

Thus in the age of her maritime greatness Kalinga carried the banner of Indian civilisation far and wide into the farther Asiatic lands. From Ceylon to the East Indies and from the Indies to the Pacific Islands and from there to the shores of America the sails of Kalinga moved about. But this unique activity was possible only for the favourable oceanic situation of Kalinga. Along her extensive coast line there flourished from time immemorial several very important and useful ports of far-famed name. In the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Ptolemy, the famous Greek geographer, wrote the geography of south-eastern Asia in which he gave the description of several ports of Kalinga. Some of those ports were Palur, Naingaina, Ktikardam, Kannagar and Madaina. Palur which was situated at the mouth the river Rushikulya was a very important port from a very ancient time. According to Ptolemy it was from this port that the ships sailed for the Malaya Islands. According to some scholars the Kannagar of Ptolemy is no other place than the modern Konarka. Besides the names given by the illustrious Greek geographer,

there were many more ports of outstanding importance. To name a few, one of them was Dantapura, perhaps the ancient most of all ports of Kalinga. There was yet another ancient port, Kalinganagar. The Chinese pilgrim Huentziang mentions of another port named Charitra. There was another flourishing port in Kalinga, Tamralipti, wherefrom the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien embarked for Ceylon. The existence of all these ports and many more, the mouths of innumerable tropical rivers and other outlets, acted favourably upon the national character of the Kalinga people and developed a seafaring spirit in them. It was just a gift of geography that Kalinga should have possessed so many of doors and windows of an otherwise mountain-locked India in the north, the north-west and the east. It was through these gateways that the Hindu civilisation flashed out from this great and hoary land towards all the angles of the southern hemisphere, and over the sands of these ports that the brave sons of the soil left their last foot print before they sailed off for their new home beyond the unknown.

Now coming to the contribution of geography to the growth of culture in Kalinga. Civilisation, says the French philosopher Bodin, is the result of geography. If civilisation is the expression of human progress, if it is the manifestation of peace and prosperity of a people, it undoubtedly presupposes a healthy environment and healthy atmosphere. Reli-

gion and Art, the two all pervading twins of civilisation, flow from the innermost depth of human happiness. Religion means faith and philosophy, a solemn thought over life and death, universe and eternity, this world and the other, a grave concern over sins and penance, an anxious longing for God and Heaven, an answer for past and a question for future, a mournful tale of a morbid mankind, desire to escape and a consolation to stay, a devotion to the Creator and love to His creation. Art stands for leisure and luxury, richness of idea and wonder, it is the eternal expression of human thought, a life in letter and stone, a dream through past, present and future ; art in itself is prose and poetry, masculine and feminine, dance and music, sculpture and architecture, verily, it is the veritable romance of man. Such things as religion and art are, they have been born and they have grown on the favoured spots of nature where man has lived as man. It is neither on the sandy vastness of Sahara nor on the snowy expansion of Siberia that the art and religion have taken their abode. On the other hand, over the green apron of Nile could stand the eternal monuments of the Egyptian civilisation ; over the enchanting pasturage of the Aegean shores stood the Homeric cities of Gracean past. It was in the luxurious geographical belts of the Levant, the Middle East and India that the six great religions of the world took their birth. In the Mediterranean villas and the city mansions

of the empires of Greece and Rome that the stones and marbles received life into gods and goddesses, beautiful virgins and Herculean youths. Man is the child of his environment, his works are the result of his opportunities. Living in the midst of the boundless wealth of nature he has ever utilised the golden opportunity of rest and leisure to lose himself into the realms of thought. Religion and philosophy, literature and invention, all have been the outcome of this thought. The sharp chisel of the sculptor has flown for his entire life time to create the romance in stone where he has not been called upon by a cruel nature to lead the life of a hard existence, battling against the odds of nature and struggling for a morsel of food. In the entire range of human history poverty has always been the deadliest enemy of culture. Otherwise where nature has been bountiful, where geography has been kindly yet kindly, there has been no poverty, no animal existence for man and hence there has been thriving growth of luxuriant cultures.

Above the watery expansion of Bay of Bengal, below the stretch of the tropic of Cancer, and under the direct airy route of the South-West monsoon, extended the plain of Kalinga from Ganges to Godavari, cut and torn by a large number of small and big perennial rivers. The sea affected a soothing equable climate on Kalinga's coast, the tropic caused heavy torrents to come down upon her soil, the

monsoon moved to and fro over her sky and the rivers rendered her into an evergreen valley of rich cultivation. It was only in such a maidenly spot of geography that the civilisation could grow so rich, that the art and architecture of Hindu India could attain to their perfection and it was here in this land that the Hindu religion could soar to its highest grandeur. In every nook and corner of this far flung country there can be traced out brilliant specimens of Indian architecture. Defying the ravage of time and man there stand countless temples and shrines throughout Kalinga with hundreds and thousands of gods and goddesses. Eventually Kalinga is the wonder land of temples and images, architecture and sculpture. It was only in this wealthy land and nowhere else in India that the people had time and wealth, the creative genius, wonderful skill and superb physique to erect the monumental super-structures in stone, rare and unique in the annals of Indian architecture,—the great temples of Puri and Bhubaneswar. The most wonderful of all,—a rare example in the entire history of the architecture of the world is that here in a solitary shore of Kalinga twelve hundred architects and sculptors working with a tireless energy for long sixteen years, spending a giant amount of forty crores or more, could raise that brightest gem of the Indian architecture, the sun temple of Konarka. Nowhere in India is to be found a temple greater than this, nor one with a better art, and of all the

great monuments of the world, there will be only a few to rival Konarka. Konarka displays an exuberance of fancy, a lavishness of labour, and an elaboration of detail that is to be found nowhere else. If the history of architecture, according to Fergusson, is the history of a nation's life and thought, there can be no better representation of a nation's life and thought as in the architecture of Kalinga. The splendour of the Kalingan architecture speaks ample of the wealth, and environment, peace and prosperity, happiness and glory of a great people—all that was due to the gift of nature. On the charming vale of Udaygiri there flourished the splendid University of Puspagiri, that held the torch of learning and knowledge and invited students from near and far. From the romantic sea shore of Puri that flew out the melodious lyrics of Jayadeva to flood India with the sweetest sentiments of the human heart.

A little out of a great panorama and what does it show? It pictures the marvel of geography in the making of a great nation that played so vital a role in the history of ancient and medieval India.

'Geography is the eye of history and vice versa' and that 'History should always go hand in hand with geography', observed Carlyle. After we have seen the geographical advantage of Kalinga in this vast and varied subcontinent of India we may proceed to study her history, political and cultural.

A GREAT WAR,—BEFORE IT AND AFTER

India as a land is the “epitome of the world”. She is an amalgam of varieties, a land of geographical, ethnological and religious diversities. Natural as it is the history of India is based on the bed-rock of these varieties and diversities. Yet the most wonderful phenomenon of the Indian history is the tendency towards unity in the midst of diversity. Geographically India is divided into several territorial compartments, the region of the Himalayas, the Indo-Gangetic plain, the Deccan plateau, the Konkan or the Karamandal. Yet India is a single geographical expression with a single name from time immemorial—Bharatbarsha—a gigantic conception from Himalays to Cape Comorine. Ethnologically India is “an ethnological museum”, the home of innumerable peoples and races, diverse in origin and blood. Yet all these peoples of India except the Mohemmedans, be they Aryans or Dravidians, Scythians or Mongoloid, have united themselves into a solid continuity of one Indian life which is rare in the history of other countries. Religiously, India has been the birth place of so many great religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism and some hundreds of cults. But beneath all these religions and cults there remains the single civilisation for all, the unshakeable and

eternal Hindu civilisation from which fountain source have sprung up all the cults and creeds and to which source again they have dropped them down and vanished. In the light of this unity in diversity and diversity in unity the political history of India presents a paradox. In long annals of the ancient and medieval history of India there have been only a limited few chapters when India as a whole or at least an overwhelming part of her expansion has come under one sceptre or attained oneness in politics. Otherwise the recurring record of the Indian annals has been the division of India into many. As a matter of fact the political history of India appears to be an ambiguous conception as India has seldom and very seldom remained as one political entity. Within the continental expansion of India there have always been innumerable states and kingdoms with their individual history ; in same periods of time there have flourished several great empires side by side. Thus politically India is an amalgam of some incoherent atoms, her history is a bundle of histories. But here in this political field too, the characteristic feature of the Indian politics has been the tendency towards unity. All along the path of time the go of Indian politics has been to convert the broken India into one political entity. This process is a conscious achievement of the people of India, a persistent endeavour of the Indian personalities and a psychological triumph of the Indian nationalism. In the

midst of political diversities, through the rise and fall of parochial empires, amidst the wars and struggles among the jarring states, beneath the manifold difference of social, linguistic and religious types, there work the slow and silent process of a national unity, a sort of uniformity of life from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin. To the evolution of this politico-national life in India every part and province of this far flung domain has contributed its share. Unconsciously, subconsciously or consciously as it might have happened, the parts of India worked in the greater interest of the whole. History of any part of India therefore is a part of the Indian history. The role of any Indian country, Magadha or Kalinga, Surastra or Vanga, is essentially an Indian role ; the achievement of any historical personage of any part of India is invariably an achievement for India. Every part of India has some glory or achievement to be proud of, on the long road of history it might have come across the pomp and splendour of a prosperous empire of which it might have been the centre or a part, or to India's list of heroes it might have supplied one name or more to its undying credit.

The role of Kalinga in the history of India is interesting and important. Out of the limbo of mythological oblivion Kalinga emerged out into the flash-light of India's political history in the 4th century B.C. when the great Nandas were on the throne of Magadha. To the immortal credit of

Magadha it is there in that imperial abode that began the first political movement for an Indian empire, one and undivided. Situated in the core of India, Magadha could easily swing the pendulum of imperialism towards all directions and as was destined, she became a cradle of great empires. In the early hours of the history of India we find Magadha as the master of Aryavarta and in course of time Aryavarta began to expand towards the Peninsular India under the banner of the Magadhan imperialism. Aryavarta, as observes Panikkar, has always been the centre of Indian life, and its gradual expansion to cover the whole continent is the central fact of Indian history. It is the true making of India. Perhaps the first expansionist movement of the northern imperialism towards the south began under the powerful dynasty of the Nandas. The all powerful founder of the Nanda dynasty, Mahapadma Nanda, who may be rightly regarded as the first empire builder of India, united a large portion of northern India. The Greek writers who came in the train of Alexander the Great saw the empire of the Nandas beyond the river Beas towards the east, with Pataliputra as capital, an empire that was the life work of the redoubtable Mahapadma. After the conquest of the north, Mahapadma might have turned his eyes towards the extensive south and on his way to south might have conquered Kalinga. Nothing is definite as regards the precise extent of his empire in the

south but the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela seems to suggest that Kalinga was a part and parcel of the Nanda empire. We do not know if the Kalingans offered a stubborn resistance to the Nanda army as they did to the army of Asoka. Standing at this long distance of time it is difficult for us to estimate the prowess of Kalinga on the eve of this first of the many northern invasions. But from indirect suggestions of history it can be safely imagined that Kalinga was not a small or weak state when the Nanda imperialism threatened her. For more than a thousand years before this invasion, Kalinga had been ruled by a long line of her own monarchs. According to Puranic accounts this line or dynasty contained as many as thirty-two monarchs. A long rule for a thousand years by an unbroken line of thirty-two kings suggests that Kalinga had a powerful political existence of her own. This powerful existence is proved by yet another political fact that immediately after the death of Mahapadma or soon after the fall of his dynasty Kalinga became independent. When Chandragupta Maurya succeeded to the vast Nanda empire he succeeded to the whole of it except only one country, Kalinga. This fact casts a doubt if the Nanda rule was as deeply established in Kalinga as in other parts of India. That the Nandaraja had some relation with Kalinga admits no doubt. That he excavated a canal in Kalinga and carried away the image of a Jina from that country are broad

facts of history from the Hatigumpha inscription. Undoubtedly, the said fact is a proof of the Nanda domination over Kalinga. It is natural that the great Mahapadmananda to whom the Puranas describe as 'the destroyer of all the Kshatriyas' and 'the sole ruler of the earth' conquered Kalinga by suppressing her Kshatriya monarchy. But it is equally natural that the Nanda empire in Kalinga was only a passing episode as that strong semi-southern state immediately ward off the northern yoke at an early chance after a temporary set-back of only a few years.

The real power of Kalinga however was exhibited in the arena of Indian politics during the age of the mighty Mauryas. In the year 324 B.C. Chandragupta Maurya with the help of that crafty Brahmin of Taxila, Chanakya, made himself the ruler of Magadha putting an end to the last of the Nandas. A year after, in June 323 B.C., died the first of the world conquerors, Alexander the Great, at Babylon. Chandragupta who had inherited to the enormous wealth and empire of the Nandas hurled back the powerful prefects of Alexander from the land of the five rivers and put an end to what remained of the Greek rule in the Punjab soon after his accession. After India had been freed from the fear of the foreigners, the great Maurya diverted the might of his empire to the conquest of this entire subcontinent. In a comparatively brief period of time he extended his conquests to all parts of India. According to

Plutarch "Chandragupta traversed India with an army of 600,000 men and conquered the whole." Elaborate evidences are there and they are ample that Chandragupta conquered far up to the extreme most south of the Indian Peninsula as far as the Podiyil hill in the Tinnevely district and in the west he pushed his conquests as far as Surastra or Kathiawar in western India. Perhaps after this extensive conquest in the south he turned his attention towards the farthest north-western regions of India and came into collision with the most powerful general of Alexander the Great, the then emperor of the splendid Asiatic empire of that Macedonian conqueror, Seleukos Nikator. Seleukos, like Chandragupta, was ruling over a gigantic empire extending from the Mediterranean sea to the Indus. Perhaps the ambition of both these powerful men of the east came into collision when in their ambitious projects each of them wanted to expand into the empire of the other. In the war that followed it was the Indian emperor who came out victorious over the Greek. In the eternal conflict between the west and the east, if Alexander by defeating a small local chieftain of the Jhelum bank claimed the credit of the victory of the west over the east, Chandragupta by defeating the greatest emperor of the time in the hey-day of the Greek imperialism proved the history to be otherwise. Seleukos ceded Herat, Beluchistan, Kabul and Kandahar to Chandragupta

and gave his daughter in marriage to the Indian emperor.

Thus Chandragupta, assisted by that Indian Machiavelli, Chanakya, became the sole monarch of an empire that extended from Hirat and Kabul in the extreme north-west to Cape Comorin in the extreme south, from the Kathiawar peninsula in the west to the river Brahmaputra in the east. Since the dawn of history till to-day, never before or never after, India has seen such a vast and wide empire as built by the first Maurya. Yet, amazing as it sounds, to this great empire of Chandragupta and Chanakya Kalinga was not a part. What may be the explanation for this famous omission? The Machiavellian statesmanship as applied by Chanakya to absorb the small and big, republican and monarchical states of India into the Maurya empire, could not have possibly omitted the conquest of Kalinga without sufficient reasons. Rather, the Maurya statesmanship should have liked to conquer Kalinga at the first instance in order to acquire an easy and direct passage into the far off south. Without Kalinga in the Maurya empire it might have been an incalculable difficulty on part of the Maurya generals to have led the Magadhan army so far as Tinnavelli through some difficult and circuitous route. It appears still more wonderful as to how could Chandragupta leave an unconquered Kalinga so near to his own capital of Pataliputra before he launched his farthest adventures.

It might have been more natural on part of the Maurya emperor to have crushed his near neighbour first and distant and foreign lands afterwards. That Kalinga was a part of the Nanda empire and while every inch of that empire passed into the hands of Chandragupta Kalinga did not, must have been an itching problem and an eye-sore to Chandragupta. Thus as it is obvious, Magadha under the first Maurya was inimically disposed towards Kalinga and was revengeful and envious in attitude. Kalinga too, as is clear, might have declared her hostility towards the Magadhan imperialism with the declaration of her independence after the demise of Mahapadma or at the accession of Chandragupta when the Nanda rule came to an end. Hostile as both the states were towards each other, a war between the two would have been only a natural result. Yet the war did not come during the life time of Chandragupta and Chanakya and the conquest of Kalinga was left unaccomplished. What can be the solution for this political paradox of ancient Indian history? To say that Kalinga was too powerful to be humbled by the Maurya emperor will be against the spirit of history. An emperor of the calibre of Chandragupta Maurya, who could conquer the whole of India and beyond India, Kabul, Kandahar, and Hirat, who could for the first time in the political annals of India cross the Vindhyas and conquer as far as Cape Comorin, who could defeat the Greek Emperor Seleukos, could have also defeated

and conquered a country like Kalinga with his all India power and resource at his back. No state in India whatever powerful it might have been could have resisted to the prowess of the greatest of the Indian conquerors. Conquest of Kalinga was therefore not an impossible task, but what was possible out of such a conquest was an unparalleled human carnage as it happened under Asoka only after a generation when that emperor conquered Kalinga after an epoch-making war of all human history. Perhaps Chandragupta was prudent enough to conceive of such a catastrophe in case of a war with the Kalingans and he was not ready to take up such a war immediately after the foundation of the Maurya empire. Leaving Kalinga as she was, the emperor conquered the western and the southern Indian states which were undoubtedly small and weak ; and which submitted to the Maurya army without determined resistance. History does not record of a strong and powerful state in India at the rise of the Mauryas besides Magadha and Kalinga. The emperor perhaps clearly foresaw that the conquest of Kalinga before the conquest of India would be an impolitic risk. The resource of Aryavarta would be greatly affected in subjugation of a powerful Kalinga and time involved in the task would be too long. These two factors would delay the conquest of western and southern India and in case the emperor would proceed to far off west or south after the conquest of Kalinga, a conquered Kalinga would foment internal

rebellion at the very boundary of the home province of the Maurya empire and would threaten the Maurya capital at its very gate. Rightly Chandragupta might have thought that a conquered Kalinga would be more dangerous to the rising tide of Magadhan imperialism than an independent Kalinga. Even after his conquest of the whole of India and victory over the Greeks, when Chandragupta was at the height of his power, the invasion of Kalinga was not taken up. Very probably after the superstructure of an extensive empire had been raised with Magadha as its base, Chandragupta did not want a major war as the Kalinga war which was sure to drain the economic and military resource of the Indian empire. The great empire builder with his gifted minister was anxious to give a sound administration to his vast domain rather than a great war after an age of wars which might have hammered at the bottom of his life work. Thus, while Kalinga was conquerable she was not conquered; while the conquest of that country was necessary for the completion of an all India empire, the shrewd Maurya statesman did not conquer her to maintain the balance of his great imperial fabric.

The son of a great father and father of a great son, Bindusara was not as great as Chandragupta or Asoka. But he was probably capable enough to maintain the empire of his father if not powerful enough to accomplish what his father had left unaccomplished. Thus Kalinga was left unconquered during the reign of

Bindusara which covered approximately from 300 B.C. to 273 B.C. History certainly meant something great and noble in postponing the Kalingan war till the reign of Asoka Maurya.

Asoka, son of Bindusara and grandson of Chandragupta, ascended the throne of Magadha about 273 B.C. and his formal coronation took place four years later in 269 B.C. In the 12th year of his reign and the 8th year of his coronation Asoka launched the invasion of the hitherto uninvaded country of Kalinga. It seems as if the accumulated anger of two previous reigns of Magadha against Kalinga burst forth in shape of an unprecedented war. What Chandragupta and Bindusara could not, their more illustrious successor Asoka ventured to do. The war machine of the first two Mauryas was ready for operation under the third Maurya and perhaps during the first twelve years of the reign of Asoka the war-lords of Magadha laboured hard to set into motion the roaring roller of the northern imperialism in direction of Kalinga. The war that followed was destined to be a great holocaust for Kalinga. The victim, determined to resist the imperial aggression, to preserve its independence and honour, was ready to fight to its last breath. Equally, the aggressor, bent upon achieving an imperial aim, determined to wipe out the separate existence of a state within the frame-work of an all India empire, was ready to perpetrate any possible carnage that would be necessary for the purpose. Thus

deed of his own hand, "One hundred and fifty thousand men were captured and carried away captive, one hundred thousand men were slain and many times that number perished as the result of the war." In a profound sense of sorrow and mortification the emperor continued, "Thus arose His Sacred Majesty's remorse for having conquered the Kalingas, because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death and captivity of the people. That is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to His Sacred Majesty. Of all the people who were then slain, done to death or carried away captive in Kalinga, if the hundredth or the thousandth part of that number were to suffer the same fate, it would now be matter of regret to His Sacred Majesty." Thus the Kalinga war changed the course of the Indian history by changing that omnipotent personality of the age. No longer Asoka was the leader of the Magadhan army, the champion of the Indian imperialism and the emperor of the Maurya empire, but hereafter he was the veritable father of men, the great philanthropist and preacher. "All men are my children. As on behalf of my own children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of all men," so declared the Beloved of the Gods, from the very heart of Kalinga. In the vision of a world state based on the rock-bottom of Dharma and non-

violence, human piety and universal brotherhood, Asoka sent out embassies and missions to the far-off kingdoms of Antiochos Theos of Syria, Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt, Magas of Cyrene, Alexander of Epirus and the king Tissa of Ceylon. "Even where the envoys of His Sacred Majesty do not penetrate, those people too, hearing His Sacred Majesty's ordinance based upon the Law of Piety and his instruction in that Law, practise and will practise the Law." The mighty momentum given by Asoka in spread of the Dhamma resulted in course of time in the conversion of China, Japan, Tibet, Siam, Indochina, Burma, the Archipelago and Ceylon. Verily, the political imperialism of Magadha inside the limits of India gave way to the religious imperialism of India in the old and known continents of the world. In the spiritual platform, India became the light of the east.

Such a result out of a war. To the political annal of India the greatest gift of Kalinga is her war with Asoka. Without the Kalinga war the name of Asoka might have been one of the numberless unimportant names of the Indian history. Without the holocaust of Kalinga the gospels of the Sakyamuni would have remained as a local religion of India instead of the greatest of the great religions. The Kalinga war changed Asoka into a staunch Buddhist, and he changed the faith of the world by spreading Buddhism. Thus to world's roll-call of heroes of

India has contributed the first name,—the name of Asoka,—that name has been written in the blood of the Kalinga people.

A GREAT CONQUEROR AND HIS CAREER

The emperor Asoka breathed his last in the year 232 B.C. Immediately after his death Kalinga declared her independence. The great war that had killed Kalinga's political existence and paralysed her prosperous life perhaps could not extinguish her burning zeal for a national independence. From the two special Kalinga edicts of Asoka it is broadly clear that the Maurya administrative system was thoroughly introduced in the newly conquered province of Kalinga. In no other Maurya province as in Kalinga the emperor's eyes were so vigilant and his administrative directions were so vivid and instructive. Very probably Asoka was aware of what he had done to ruin the peace and prosperity of a great people and how he had crippled a nation's very existence. To apply a healing balm over the wound of the Kalingans the repentant emperor did all that he could and in a humane and paternal disposition for the welfare of the conquered he ordered all his officials in Kalinga, to the viceroy, to mahamantras, to the law officers and to other employees of the crown, to discharge their duty with honesty and sincerity, and above all, with kindness. It was in the Kalinga rock edict that the emperor proclaimed to the world "All men are my children". Perhaps the sufferers of

Kalinga who survived the war but suffered from its after-math enjoyed ample benevolence from His Sacred Majesty and reconciled themselves to the administration from Magadha. Thus for long thirty years, from the Kalinga war to the death of Asoka, Kalinga remained under the Maurya administrative system, refined and modified by a unique type of paternalism that was possible only under an Asoka. Yet, beneath the bulwark of such a system the Kalinga people might have ever longed to regain their lost independence. Being a coastal people and a maritime race, and inhabiting fertile belts of countless rivers, the Kalingans did not like to keep their motherland as an appanage of Magadha. It is probable that during the thirty years of Maurya rule Kalinga could have rose in arms had it not been the rule of Asoka. But soon after the death of that emperor there was nothing to keep her within the boundaries of the northern empire.

It is really a wonderful phenomenon in the history of Kalinga that from the depth of ruin the Kalingans could revive themselves within so short a time. In that sweeping storm of Asokan war the backbone of the country was broken to pieces; the best flowers of the nation, the youths, were sacrificed like human lambs in hundreds and thousands at the altar of war. To add to the horrors of war were the famines and pestilence that carried away an incalculable toll of human lives. It was like the last breath of a nation

that this war saw in Kalinga. Yet out of such a devastating chaos the nation came out with enough of strength to stand independent only after three decades. In the record of a country's rise and fall so dramatic a rise after so drastic a fall is a wonder by itself. What is still more wonderful in case of Kalinga, not only that she regained her independence soon after the death of Asoka but within only seven years of the incident she saw a very strong and powerful Kalingan dynasty established on her soil. This new dynasty was the dynasty of the Chedis, which came into existence in 225 B.C. The splendid gift of this dynasty to Kalinga and to India was a great emperor, rather the greatest emperor of the Kalinga history, Kharavela, an emperor who gave India a great empire over the grave-yard of the empire of the Mauryas and who, like Chandragupta Maurya, saved India once more from the onslaughts of the Greek invaders.

Kharavela was born at a time when the political firmament of India was dark with the clouds of affliction. With the death of Asoka in 232 B.C. was sounded the death-knell of the Maurya empire. The successors of the great Maurya were weak and shadowy to hold on the fabric. The Maurya military machine after the Kalinga war was a defunct institution to have been of any use in the dying days of the empire. The empire was too vast to sink beneath its own weight. Centrifugal tendency had always been

the tendency in India after every prosperous chapter of her history. Like Kalinga that broke away from the Maurya empire at the earliest chance other provinces too asserted their independence in due course of time. To crown these pangs of downfall there came the foreign invasions from the north-west. Ever since Alexander the Great had left his footprint on the sands of Jhelum, the Greeks from their central Asiatic home followed in his foot steps again and again into India. The north-west region of India has well been compared with the nose of a crocodile so that holding that nose the foreigners had always tried to tame India. India had been well guarded at her nose whenever any powerful monarch had presided over her destiny. But with weak personalities at the helm of affairs she had been exposed to the foreigners through that vulnerable point of her otherwise well-scaled body. Never the north-west frontier of India was so well guarded against the foreign marauders as under the three great Mauryas for their overwhelming military might and well established diplomatic relation with the western potentates. But the moment the strong hand of Asoka was removed, the foreigners became ready to burst forth into the boundary of the Maurya empire. Internal dissension and foreign aggression, facilitated by a weak rule of some unworthy successors and a complete breakdown of the military system, ended the life of the empire of Chandragupta and Asoka.

The death of the Maurya empire was one of the saddest episodes of history. India plunged herself into an age of chaos and disorder. In her death-agony she saw the loss of the Kabul valley that became independent under Subhagasena. With the loss of Kabul was opened the gateway of India in the west. In the central India, Vidarbha declared her independence. Kalinga had long done so and the far south, too, did the same. When dismemberment of the mighty Maurya empire had already advanced very far, Antiochos the Great of the Syrian empire invaded India in 206 B.C. In the midst of these dangers and confusions, Senapati Pushyamitra assassinated the last of the successors of Asoka, Brihadratha Maurya and thus affected a dynastic revolution. The Sunga dynasty was established on the throne of Magadha in the year 188 B.C. by Pushyamitra but the Sunga *coup d'etat* brought no improvement. Chandragupta Maurya by putting an end to the last Nanda and founding his own dynasty on the throne of Magadha heralded a more prosperous era than that of the previous. But unlike the triumph of Chandragupta over the last Nanda, the triumph of Pushyamitra over the last Maurya was not for the better. An imposing fabric was fast tottering and the new dynasty in Magadha was unable to prop up this decaying structure of the Indian empire. Pushyamitra usurped only a small territory around Magadha, whereas, the rest of the Maurya empire sank in ruin.

Thus melted away the first united Indian empire after a thriving existence for a century. In this supreme hour of decay and dissolution what India wanted were a central personality and a great empire. This was to maintain the unbroken continuity in her history, to preserve an equilibrium in her system and finally to hold on her hoary civilisation. In the working process of the tendencies of unity and diversity the history of India had seen the rise and fall of many empires. In different times of history empires had flourished in different parts of India to act as the focussing centre of the subcontinent. With these empires as pivots the Indian politics had revolved round its course. At the daybreak of every empire a great personality or personalities had come into the arena of Indian politics and in the course of their life and career had advanced the history of this land. Just at the night-fall of such an empire another set of personalities had erected yet another new empire and had shifted the centre of Indian politics from the old to the new. Every age in India had its empire and leader ; through day-break and night-fall, breaking and being, the history of India maintained its eternal continuity.

When the Maurya empire was no more and India was suffering from a dearth of genius, there was born Kharavela in the year 207 B.C. in the Chedi dynasty of Kalinga. The meteoric career of this monarch is one of the brightest interludes in the history of India.

The great emperor was born at a time when Kalinga was beginning to revive herself under her new dynasty from the devastation caused by Magadha. Unfortunate as we in posterity are, we do not know anything about the predecessors of Kharavela who pioneered the rise of Kalinga after a great catastrophe and an outside rule. But who-so-ever they might have been there is nothing to challenge their meritorious role in the history of Kalinga. They were enterprising and enlightened and worked with a tireless energy to speed up Kalinga's rise. The immediate predecessor of Kharavela should be credited for the brilliant education that he imparted to his illustrious successor. Like Frederick the Great of the history of Prussia or Samudragupta of the history of India, Kharavela was built up from his birth for a great role in future and was boiled and moulded in the furnace of a hard educative system. From what we know from the composition of that unknown Harisena or Bana in the famous Hatigumpha Prasasti of emperor Kharavela, it is clear and vivid as to what a difficult training Kharavela had to undergo when he was a young prince. Only such an education as it was could have laid the solid foundation of a great imperial career. Only at the tender age of 15 the prince had to learn different works of various political departments of the state, such as, the state correspondence, current accountancy and civil law, besides military training which formed a part of the princely

education. A Hindu prince as he was, he had to be well-versed in the religious law as in the political. The young Kharavela, as would say his nameless admirer at Hatigumpha, completed his studies in *lekha*, *rupa*, *ganana*, *vyavahara*, and *vidhi* and mastered those sciences. From his fifteenth year till the twenty-fourth, Kharavela remained as the crown prince or heir-apparent of Kalinga. The responsibility of an ancient Indian crown prince was as great as that of the king himself. He had no time to bury himself in the luxuries of a royal harem, his was a very hard and dangerous time. As the vicegerent of his father or predecessor he had to look into the details of State affairs, had to conduct war against the invaders or to launch campaigns against new lands. Asoka, Samudragupta, Chandragupta Vikramaditya, Rajyavardhan and Sri Harsha, all had played a conspicuous role during the lifetime of their predecessors as the crown prince or the would-be emperor of the empire. Crown prince Kharavela might have well realised the great task that lay before him. Studying the signs of time he might have easily understood what India was at the death of Asoka. The memory of the Great War might have remained yet fresh in the minds of men; the revival of Kalinga at full speed might have been regarded as the duty of the leaders. At the prospect of a rising Kalinga, the crown-prince Kharavela might have dreamed of a militant imperialism spreading out into other parts

of India from the heart of his motherland. The vision of his youth came to be fulfilled when the crown-prince of Kalinga ascended the throne as the crowned emperor of that country in 183 B.C. at the age of twenty-four.

The short reign of Kharavela was an era of extensive conquests. Unlike most of the great emperors of India this emperor ruled for a very brief period of time, yet within that brief period he dazzled the history with successful wars and far-flung conquests like a Samudragupta, Kaniska or Harsha. In the first year of his reign Kharavela hastily repaired the damaged capital of Kalinga, re-erected the broken gates, ramparts and buildings of the city, constructed dams and embankments over canals and tanks and beautified the capital city with parks and gardens. In this constructive project the royal exchequer released out a huge amount of thirty-five lakhs. Thus in the first year of the emperor's reign, was done so much of public welfare works which is a rare example in the reigns of monarchs.

At the commencement of the second year's reign the revived might of Kalinga was set in motion in anticipation of an all-out imperialism. Perhaps at the downfall of Magadha, Kalinga stepped into the former's policy of expansion in the field of the Indian imperialism. But what was the strength of Kalinga at this time, at the second year of Kharavela's reign when more than half a century had elapsed after the

devastation of Asoka and when Kharavela was going to launch his conquest of the north and the south? The Hatigumpha Prasasti of Kharavela does not supply us with the actual figures relating to the conqueror's troops and transports that were employed in his conquests. Yet a tolerably clear idea of the numerical strength of his fighting army may be formed from some other evidence. From the earlier accounts of the Greek Ambassador Megasthenes who came to the court of Chandragupta Maurya from Seleukos Nikator and left that invaluable piece of historical literature, *Indika*, it is gathered that "the king of Kalinga was protected by a standing army, numbering 60,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry and 700 war elephants". Perhaps from the court of the Mauryas the astonished Ambassador to India appreciated the prowess of the Kalinga army that defied the power of Chandragupta and kept Kalinga out of the pale of an all India fabric. We do not know if an army of 60,000 only, as Megasthenes saw, was sufficient enough to keep six lakhs of Maurya soldiers at a respectable distance. It may be that this sixty thousand was in the active service of the king of Kalinga where as some more thousands might have been in the reserve list of the militia forming the troops of the second line. Whatever it might have been let us take it for granted in absence of other evidences that Kalinga had an army of a little more than sixty thousand when Megasthenes observed her

strength. Prof. Radhakumud Mukherjee rightly suggests that "this army of seventy thousand must have been considerably expanded by the time of Asoka when the number of casualties alone is stated to be at least four lakhs, taking the number of both dead, wounded and prisoners taken." Asoka invaded Kalinga only after twenty years of Magasthenes. Perhaps in apprehension of an invasion from Magadha, Kalinga might have galloped with a policy of armament, lakhs might have been recruited into army, the reserves in the waiting list might have been called into the field and thus when the real invasion came Kalinga could afford to sacrifice more than four lakhs as war casualties. One or two lakhs more might have escaped death, imprisonment or being wounded as such a number would have certainly remained out of the front-line from the beginning till the end of the war to act as the territorial force. Thus during a very short period of two decades only the army of Kalinga could multiply itself from seventy thousand or something more to five or six lakhs. If such a speedy increment in the army was possible in anticipation of an invasion, after the invasion the revival might have been much more speedy. Seventy years had flown by since the flood of the Magadhan invasion swept over Kalinga. During this long period the vanquished nation had tried its utmost to regain her former strength. Specially, it was from the time of Asoka's death that the rise of an independent

Kalinga and the revival of her lost military power became a vigorous phenomenon of her history. During forty years after the death of Asoka, Kalinga climbed on in the ladder of a renewed militarism and her progress was really a unique incident. Like the Prussians in the history of medieval Europe, the Kalingas in the history of ancient India were a great military people. When Kharavela ascended the throne, the military power of Kalinga might have been already at its zenith. Like the predecessors of Frederick the Great, the predecessors of Kharavela had done everything in building up of a great army. At the second year of Kharavela's reign therefore, when signal was given for the aggressive march of the Kalinga army, the numerical strength of that army might have been certainly greater than any other army in India at that time. The exact strength of the army is difficult to be ascertained. Keeping in view the strength of the Kalinga army at the time of the Asokan war, and taking into consideration the spectacular rise of Kalinga after the death of Asoka, and in view point of the conquering role that Kharavela played, we can safely presume that the strength of the Kalinga army under Kharavela was at least equal to and probably much more than the military strength of that country as it was at the time of the Great War seventy years back. Prof. Radha Kumud Mukherjee suggests that "the total number of this standing army of Kalinga during Kharavela's reign was by far

the greater and by no means less than five and half lakhs". The estimation of the learned historian is by all means justified and we may safely take it for granted that it was with an army of nearly six lakhs that the great emperor of Kalinga conquered the Uttarapatha, the Dakshinapatha, and the Madhyadesha. It was not an impossible or insurmountable task on the part of Kharavela to have traversed such a wide land with as mighty an army as five and half or six lakhs. Because, even greater conquests had been done with similar army as of Kharavela. From the 'Life of Alexander' written by the classical Greek writer Plutarch we come to know that Chandragupta Maurya 'was able to overrun and subdue the whole of India with an army of six lakhs only.' This statement of Plutarch has been corroborated by other evidences. If Chandragupta could conquer the whole of India with an army of six lakhs only, it was equally possible on part of Kharavela to undertake military campaigns all over India with an army numbering there about.

Thus with an army so estimated, Kharavela launched the first of his many campaigns in the second year of his reign. It was a march into the Deccan, the invasion of the Dakhin. Why did the Kalinga warrior invade the south first and the north afterwards is not very clear. It would have been more natural on the part of Kharavela to have led his army against Magadha in retaliation to the Asokan atrocity at the earliest chance. The dynastic

revolution in Magadha was a favourable opportunity. It would have seemed more prudent had Kharavela invaded Magadha before the Sunga rule had been well established and before the army of Kalinga had exhausted its power in any other part of India. But for some reason or other which is unknown to us at this long distance of time Kharavela turned his attention towards the south before he had taken up his northern invasion. It may be that the Lord-Paramount of the south, Sri Satakarni, was a threatening menace to the rising power of Kalinga and leaving him in the rear Kharavela did not think it wise to leave Kalinga for the north. Sri Satakarni was a very powerful southern monarch and his empire was a direct neighbour to the empire of Kharavela. The war-machine of Kalinga, consisting of the four wheels of the ancient military science, such as, infantry, cavalry, chariot and elephant, rolled on towards the west defying the strength of Sri Satakarni and paying no heed to his empire or army. It was a sudden attack at the heart of the most powerful rival in the Deccan and the result was auspicious for the invader. Sri Satakarni, the third king of the Satavahana-Andhra dynasty, was humbled thus and the victorious army of Kalinga proceeded for the south towards the bank of the Krishna. The army reached the river Krishna and terrorised the city of the Musikas. The Musikas were a people who inhabited the fertile valley of the Krishna from a very ancient time.

That they were a very powerful people is evident from the Puranic accounts. The lust for conquests, that always dominated the mind of the powerful monarchs of the past, drove Kharavela to terrorise and subdue a far off people as the Musikas on the bank of the distant Krishna. After a long and victorious march for a year the army returned back to the capital of Kalinga ; the dread of Kharavela was sown in the Deccan.

In the third year of the reign, the victorious emperor celebrated his triumph over the Andhras and the Musikas. The capital of Kalinga saw great rejoicings. In ancient India, music was a great pastime of the kings and sometimes the kings themselves were well-versed in that science. Kharavela, like Samudragupta, was a learned musician himself and a great patron of music. After a busy year in foreign lands, the emperor enjoyed various musical performances in his capital city and caused many other social functions to be performed. It seems as if life was buzzing in the land of Kharavela.

In the fourth year the war drums were sounded once again and the army woke up from a year's pleasure for blood and booty of some unknown field. The land of the Vidyadharas was administered under the benevolent care of Kharavela in accordance with the traditional Chedi policy. After that the army rolled on towards the lands of the Rastrikas and the Bhojakas in the Vindhian wilds, who, in due course,

were compelled to submit to the conqueror's arm. The Rastrikas and the Bhojakas, who were also known as the Maharathis and the Mahabhojas, and whose names are to be so frequently found in the rock edicts of Asoka and other inscriptions, were undoubtedly two great peoples of the Deccan. The defeat and conquest of these peoples shed lustre to the glory of Kharavela as an invincible conqueror, and to his army as a formidable institution. The learned biographer of Kharavela at Hatigumpha has allowed his chisel to go into eulogium while describing the victory of his patron over the Rastrikas and the Bhojakas—how those terrified people were scattered in the field, their power broken and entire wealth captured by the victor, and finally they coming to pay homage at the feet of Maharaja Kharavela.

The fifth year of the emperor's reign was a recess after a weary warfare. But the recess was utilised by some social service work. The canal that was excavated by the Maharaja Nanda many years ago was extended as far as the capital of Kalinga. One lakh of coins were spent in this excavation work. In the sixth year of the reign Kharavela performed the Rajasuya ceremony. Celebration of Rajasuya in itself is a bold proclamation to the world of the imperial dignity of the king who performs it. It implies extensive conquests and domination over many kings. After his subjugation of many kings in the west and the south, Kharavela was now a king

of kings and was at a befitting position to celebrate Rajasuya. After this supreme manifestation of royalty, Kharavela began to perform his duty towards his subjects. Various kinds of taxes and customs duties amounting to lakhs were abolished or remitted and many kind concessions were granted to the people of both urban and rural areas. All these benevolent measures cost the royal treasury several hundreds of thousands.

In the seventh year the emperor caused a military exhibition to be done where his people saw different arts of warfare, the parade of the guards, sword play and chariotecring, the cavalry charge and the rest. Perhaps in this year a son was born to the emperor of the princess of Vajira-ghara. Vajir-ghar was situated in the Chanda district of the Central Provinces and came to be known as Vaira-gadh in later days. Matrimony always played a great part in ancient Indian politics. By marrying a Central Indian princess, Kharavela was perhaps guaranteed of an ally who might have been helpful to him in his military expeditions.

The eighth regnal year of Kharavela heard the war trumpets of Kalinga blowing in direction of the north. In the political annals of India this year is an interesting and important year. Ever since the Magadhan imperialism had threatened Kalinga under Mahapadma Nanda the culmination of which had been reached under Asoka, a war of retaliation by

Kalinga against Magadha lay in the logic of history. The horrors of the Asokan war were a living memory to the Kalinga people. In spite of what was done by Asoka to ameliorate the feelings of the vanquished, after the death of that paternal monarch and more after the downfall of his empire, the feeling against the Magadhans ran high in Kalinga. It was as if each individual of Kalinga cried vengeance against each individual of Magadha. After the end of the Magadhan domination and at the dawn of her independence, Kalinga might have hoped for a reverse of history. With the rise of the powerful Chedi dynasty the single aim of the Kalinga people might have been a war with Magadha at her very heart. From the death of Asoka till the accession of Kharavela it was a period of brisk preparation, a lull before the storm. While Kalinga was thus preparing, evil days were fast darkening the political horizon of Magadha. Her appanages were going off from her orbit and foreigners were bursting into her frontier. Amidst this chaos the Sunga *coup d'etat* took place and Senapati Pushyamitra usurped the throne of Magadha. Every such calamity in Magadha supplied Kalinga with a golden opportunity. Everything was ready when Kharavela ascended the throne and the war cry of his people at his accession might have been 'March onto Magadha'. But the rising power of the Satabahan-Andhras in the west, under the powerful monarch Sri Satakarni, stood a threatening

menace to Kalinga and a stumbling bloc on the path of her northernly ambition. The war-machine of Kalinga therefore had to be directed towards the Satavahan territory instead of towards the capital of Magadha. Once the army had moved towards one of the Deccanese powers, some other powers in that land had to be dealt with. Thus the war against Magadha was temporarily postponed and the first eight years of Kharavela's reign were employed in conquering the powers of the Deccan. After the defeat of the Deccanese powers, Kharavela had already become the Lord-Paramount of the South and his army had proved itself the best army in the whole of India. Anticipating no danger from the south hence forward, the Kalinga emperor celebrated the Rajasuya to proclaim to the kings of India that he was the central personality of the age, the conqueror of the Deccan, the veritable sun in the solar-system of the Indian monarchs. In the following year of the Rajasuya, the emperor examined the strength, equipments and feats of his entire army and of its departments by a complete military exhibition. After he had been amply satisfied with the might of his gigantic army, the conqueror of the south now looked towards the north. Thus at the beginning of his eighth regnal year, the emperor of Kalinga, Mahamegha-Bahana Kharavela, let loose his army like roaring clouds in the heaven towards the plains of the Uttarapatha. Like an angry Asoka who came

with an invincible army of the Maurya empire to conquer a Kalinga with fire and sword, the grim Kharavela with his myriads of revengeful soldiers marched onto Magadha with blood and iron in his hands to create horror at her heart. The verdict of Asoka's Kalingan war was thus reversed. By the cruel irony of history Magadha now stood a prey to the invading army of Kalinga, to be humbled and captivated by her once subject country. The Mahamegha-Bahana emperor entered into the territory of Magadha and fought out an important engagement with the army of that empire at Gorathgiri or modern Barabar hill in the district of Gaya, and stormed that outlying fortress which guarded Rajagriha, the former capital of Magadha. After having stormed and destroyed the stronghold of Gorathgiri, Kharavela moved towards the interior. The army of invasion was now hanging at the very gate of the ancient metropolis of Magadha and within a while, Rajagriha, that one-time capital city and a prosperous abode of her mythical and historical monarchs, was humbled and captured. We do not know if the army of Pushyamitra offered a stubborn resistance to the invader as the army of the Kalinga king offered to Asoka. Very probably the resistance was very weak and the defenders had to fly from their capital without defending the city. In any case the fall of Rajagriha exposed to the world the utter weakness of the military power of Magadha. The road to

Pataliputra, the then capital of the Sunga dynasty, was now open to the invader. The captor of Rajagriha was fast hastening towards Pataliputra when all of a sudden in the middle of his victorious march he had to cry a halt to his marching army. Before Pataliputra had been sacked or captured, a more formidable task now faced the conqueror. This was the Greek invasion of India. Ever since Alexander the Great touched the soil of India his Greek successors from the Hither Asia had always cast their greedy eyes towards the Indo-Gangetic plain and coveted the wealth of Hind. With the downfall of the Maurya empire there came a golden opportunity to them to materialise their dream. In absence of a strong empire or a powerful personality in the post-Mauryan India, a foreign invasion of this country was only a matter of time. Such an invasion had already burst forth only within twenty-five years after the death of Asoka when Antiochos the Great of Syria invaded the north-western India in 206 B.C. and proved to the world that the Maurya empire was in its death bed. Successive invasions were to follow in future deeper and deeper into the core of India. While Kharavela was approaching Pataliputra from the eastern side of that great metropolis, the Greek king Demetrios was hanging upon her doors from the western side. This Greek who belonged to the dynasty of Euthydemos I was the most powerful man of Central Asia of his time and with vast hordes of the Greeks

and the Persians in his army he was the true successor to the empires of Alexander and Seleukos in the east. The power of Demetrios is evident from the descriptions in that celebrated book, the 'Mudra Rakshasa' and from the very fact that he advanced as far interior as the capital of Magadha. The moment was a very critical one. Towards a common goal marched two powerful men of the time from two opposite directions. At this critical juncture, the Kalinga statesman immediately dropped the invasion of Pataliputra and aimed his blow at the heart of the Greek. The patriot in Kharavela reminded him that at the face of a foreign invasion he was an Indian first and a Kalingan afterwards, that his enemy at the time was not Pushyamitra Sunga or the people of Magadha but the Greek king Demetrios and his foreign hordes. It was one more delicate page in the history of India when the country awaited a trial of strength between the Greek and the Indian. In dramatic suddenness Kharavela mobilised his army to pounce upon the foreigners and the foreigners in their turn might have well imagined the velocity of such a force. The Greek king was too wise to calculate the strength of the conqueror of the Deccan and invader of the north and prudently enough he retreated in hot haste towards the extreme north without daring to wait even for the first arrow from the camp of Kharavela. Perhaps the ghost of Seleukos pointed out to Demetrios that the spirit of

Chandragupta worked in Kharavela. To save the face of Greece and Persia from disgrace in case of a defeat, Demetrios hastened back to Mathura which was apparently his base. But Kharavela was not a man to give up the pursuit. The champion of the Indian nationalism would not be satisfied to see the enemy of India resting at Mathura. So marched the army of Kharavela from Magadha to the far-off Mathura along the banks of Ganga and Yamuna till finally the base of the Greek was reached. But before the roaring sound of the drums and the trumpets of the Mahamegha-Bahana had resounded on the walls of Mathura, in fear and despair the Greek king had quitted the city and had gone out of the Uttarapatha to take shelter in some obscure corner beyond the Indus. Thus was disgraced the Greek king Demetrios, son of the powerful Euthydemus, son-in-law of Antiochos the Great, and leader of the Bactrians and Persians, in hands of Kharavela. The army of Kharavela entered into Mathura. The whole of Uttarapatha and of the Deccan now lay in awe at the sceptre of this greatest Indian of the age, the most powerful monarch of all the Indian kings. But in this supreme hour of victory, instead of acting as a sanguine plunderer, Kharavela exhibited a rare piece of ancient Indian magnanimity. By offering feasts to the people of Mathura, to 'those who kept to household life or those who turned ascetics, those who belonged to Brahmanical orders or those who

belonged to other religious orders', the conqueror showed a unique example of his charity and liberalism. The entire population of the great city of Mathura might have enjoyed that royal festivity of an unprecedented type. After an era of Greek domination, the freedom-mad people of that hoary city, irrespective of caste and creed, old and young, men and women, would have regarded Kharavela as a deliverer who delivered them from the foreign yoke, and the humanitarian conqueror in the flush of his victory would have shared in their pleasure by throwing open the doors of his exchequer for the unbounded enjoyment of all. The Indian in Kharavela certainly led him to regard the people of Mathura as the people of his own land, the far-off Kalinga, and the sumptuous banquet of Mathura was just a celebration of victory by the children of India over the defeat of the Greeks. At the end of the feast and festivity Kharavela saw that a full year had gone by since he left Kalinga. The emperor therefore ordered his army for a homeward march. After the completion of an eventful year the army at length arrived back in Kalinga. As in Mathura so in Kalinga another sumptuous feast was arranged at the cost of a hundred thousand in which all the house-holders (probably of the capital), all the state officials, the Brahmanas, the Arhata and the Sramanas took part.

The ninth year of the reign was spent in giving out donations of elephants, chariots and horses. The

Brahmins of the empire were exempted from a certain amount of taxation. This year the emperor raised a magnificent royal building and named it as the 'Great Victory Palace'. Thirty-eight lakhs of coins were spent in erecting this mighty monument which stood to personify in all its grandeur the great victory of a great conqueror.

The conquering career of the emperor however was not over. In the tenth year once more the Kalingan army was thrust into the Northern India most probably because the Sungas of Magadha did not acknowledge the paramountcy of Kharavela. Simultaneously, another army was sent to the south to break down the power of yet another new people, the Musalas, who inhabited the Telugu country. In the eleventh year the war flared up more vehemently in the south. The wrath of the emperor first fell upon the capital city of the Musalas named as Pithunda which was razed to the ground and its site was ploughed by the asses. After this revengeful demonstration the angry emperor heavily fell upon a number of southern kings who had formed a league of their own which may be called as the Tamil league. This Tamil league was in existence since one hundred and thirteen years and was undoubtedly a very powerful political institution of the Tamil country. With the rise of Kharavela and defeat of Sri Satakarni and other southern powers in his hands, this Tamil league might have developed itself into an anti-

Kalingan league. Furthermore, taking the advantage of the absence of Kharavela in the far-off north, the league might have fomented troubles and political unrest in the conquered lands of that emperor in the south. Thus driven by a necessity Kharavela had to throw his full weight against those hostile kings of the Tamil country and finally succeeded in breaking down the league beyond any hope of repair. With the destruction of the Tamil league the ascendancy of Kharavela over the south attained its zenith. His empire in the Dakhin extended as far south as the river Kaveri. The Andhras and Satabahanas of the land of Satakarni, the Musikas of the plains of the river Krishnaveni, the Rastrikas and Bhojakas of the Vindhian region, the Musalas of the Telugu country that lay between Godavari and Krishna, the subjects of the different kings of the Tamil land, and many other peoples of the Madhyadesha and trans-vindhian south, formed the subject population of the extensive empire of Kharavela. The Deccan at the time of Kharavela was an appanage of the empire of Kalinga.

After the subjugation of the Deccan had been complete, and there being no possibility of any political unrest in that part of India, Kharavela now planned for his final achievement in the north. In his first northern invasion, Kharavela had to return from the very gate of Pataliputra because of the Greek king. In his second expedition into the north the invader's attention was hastily drawn towards the

south before anything had been achieved there. Thus in either of his north-ward march the metropolis of northern India had remained his undone. At the commencement of the twelfth year of his reign therefore when the emperor had finished his duty in the south, he prepared for an all-out assault in the north. This time the army was led against several kings of the north with a special aim at the king of Magadha. Very probably like the Tamil league in the south, the north-Indian monarchs might have united into a league against the hegemony of Kalinga with the Sunga king as their president-leader. Or that each individual king of the Uttarapatha tried his utmost to reassert his strength. The popular clamour in Kalinga would have been vehemently in favour of a war against Magadha. And Kharavela, at the height of his power, would have been bent upon in breaking the power of the northern kings and bringing them under the banner of Kalinga. So began the last and perhaps the greatest war-march of Kharavela against Magadha and the north. Destiny had no doubt wished him a success.

Dr. R. D. Banerjee, after his study into the Khandagiri inscriptions and in due consultation with the *Mudra Rakshasa*, described the advent of Kharavela into Uttarapatha thus, "In the twelfth year of his reign Kharavela harassed the kings of the north-western frontier (Uttarapatharajano) and then, causing immense terror to the people of Magadha, he

entered the capital of the Sunga Empire, Pataliputra, and quartered his elephants in the Suganga Palace, mentioned in the *Mudra Rakshasa*. In this campaign Kharavela compelled the Raja of Magadha, Brihaspati mitra, to submit to him. During this campaign Kharavela brought away an image of the Jina of Kalinga, which had been taken away from that country by one of the Nanda kings." Prof. Beni Madhab Barua reads out the accounts of this invasion from the *Kharavela Charita* at Hatigumpha in this way, "In the twelfth year of his reign, Kharavela terrorised the rulers of Uttarapatha, subdued Brihaspatimitra, the king of Magadha, forced the inhabitants of Anga and Magadha into submission, brought back the throne of Jina from Anga-Magadha to Kalinga, and made improvements of the capital city by opening new roads and squares and adding gate bars, gate houses, and towers."

Such was therefore the achievement of Kharavela in his twelfth year of the region. The spear that was long aimed at the heart of the enemy was at last thrust. From what was done in the north by Kharavela it is sufficiently clear that it was just the result of an age-old rivalry that existed between Magadha and Kalinga. The work of Kharavela in the Uttarapatha reminds us of the work of Hannibal in Italy. Along the bank of the Ganges the army of Kalinga must have marched onward, fighting from defence to defence and fortress to fortress, defeating the rulers

and generals of the north in individual or in union, and causing immense terror to the people if not perpetrating wanton acts of cruelty and violence. The gates of Magadha might have been broken open violently by the invading army. The people of Magadha in recollection to their memory of that wanton atrocity they committed under the Maurya conqueror in Kalinga, dreaded a similar type of blood and vengeance from the invader from that once devastated land who had come in revengeful spirit. It must have been like the shock of a thunder in heart of the Magadhans. From what we hear from that brief narrator of Kharavela-Charita in Udayagiri, we get a clear picture of the north when the Kalinga army hammered upon her. It seems as if everything was in turmoil. That the vanquished kings of Uttara-patha were harassed to the full satisfaction of the victor, and the population of Anga-Magadha was amply terrified and was compelled to worship at the feet of the victor to the great satisfaction of the conqueror's soldiers. The entry into Pataliputra was doubtless a triumphal march. Through gateways and arches of that northern metropolis the proud army of Kalinga must have marched in triumph, and, in fear and shame the citizens of that thriving capital would have observed the procession. Being defeated in fields and failing in resistance over the ramparts of Pataliputra, the king of Magadha, Pushyamitra Sunga, whose other name was Brihaspatimitra and in which

name he is famous in Hatigumpha inscription, finally surrendered himself, perhaps in his own capital, and suggestively at the doors of that great palace, the Sugangeya Palace, which was built by the Nandas and which was probably the-then home-citadel of the imperial Sungas. The defeat and submission of the Sunga monarch was really the culmination of Kharavela's northern invasion. The names of other monarchs who were defeated and who submitted to Kharavela in the north are not known. Evidently they were the former generals, prefects of viceroys of the Maurya empire and now independent rulers at the fall of that empire. After the defeat of Pushyamitra and others, the aggression in the north would have come to an end. But before his home-ward march the emperor plundered Anga and Magadha and acquired an immense amount of pearls, jewels and other valuables. But the greatest and by far the most significant war trophy which the victor proposed to take away from Magadha to his home-land was an Image of the Jina that adored the spiritual realm of the north. This Jina was once the invaluable property of some supreme temple of Kalinga but was carried away from that country during the first wave of the northern invasion under the Nanda emperors of Magadha. The great Nanda who conquered Kalinga could not check his extreme desire to rob away that religious wealth of the conquered land to the undying anger of the Kalingans. Perhaps the fame and value of the Kalinga Jina was

too much for the Nanda conqueror to have left it unacquired. But the bitterness of such a religious violation was equally too deep to be forgotten. Generations had passed between the Nanda Raja and Kharavela, yet Kalinga even at the time of the latter had not forgotten the work of the former. Perhaps after his conquest of Magadha and capture of Pataliputra, Kharavela thought it to be an opportune moment to take away the Kalinga Jina to Kalinga as the preciousmost trophy of his victory. That would add dignity and prestige to the achievement of the conqueror and give a retaliating answer to the deed of the Nanda Raja. At the same time it would let loose an unbounded amount of pride and joy throughout the length and breadth of Kalinga while adding salt to the injury of the vanquished people of Magadha. To the sacred corner of Pataliputra the Jaina saints of Kalinga would have proceeded in ceremony to bring out the Kalinga Jina. Outside the gates of the capital, the army would have awaited its coming to carry it in procession, from Magadha to Kalinga. The coming of the Kalinga Jina in procession had been well painted in the Hatigumpha inscription. Thousands and thousands of elephants and horses that were employed in the northern warfare, and the entire soldiery of Kalinga in that front, arrayed in a solemn yet pompous procession to conduct the Jina into Kalinga. The news of victory might have flown like an arrow from the far-off Magadha to every village,

every house and every man in Kalinga. The entire population of that proud land would have stood on the tip-toe of anxiety to observe the procession of the Kalinga Jina and to receive the victorious emperor. To the universal joy of his people Kharavela returned back. Immediately on his return, Kalinga plunged herself into a maddening jubilee. The exchequer exhibited an unparalleled expenditure in erecting victory towers and processional arch-ways, great temples and decorative gates, all to proclaim a unique victory. A lavish display of pomp and splendour, feast and festivity, must have been the order of the day. It seems as if the wound inflicted at the heart of Kalinga by the imperial Nandas and Mauryas was at length cured by Kharavela.

Fortune had not yet exhausted her bounty over the crown of Kharavela. The same year that Kharavela returned victorious from the north, the powerful potentate of the Dakshinapatha, the king of the Pandyas, was subdued and was compelled to pay homage to the Kalinga emperor by sending an invaluable amount of pearls, gems and jewels and various types of precious ornaments, and other similar things as tribute. The sway of Kharavela now extended to the last extremity of the Peninsular India.

After the twelfth regnal year, the conqueror abandoned his lust for conquests. Perhaps his life's aim had been achieved and now at the prime of his life the emperor wanted to retire. After twelve years of

unceasing warfare, and battles in unknown and countless fields, the victorious emperor as if realised at length that all his worldly achievements were futile endeavours. Like the change in Asoka after his blood-bath at Kalinga, the memory of a hundred fields might have changed Kharavela. The remaining days therefore, the emperor wanted to spend in achieving religious objectives. So at the thirteenth year of his reign we find Kharavela in none of the war fields of India but on the summit of the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills. Outside the city walls of Kalinga-Nagar, there stood, as they stand to-day, the twin hills of Khandagiri and Udayagiri, lone and quiet, in midst of a spiritual serenity. Centuries before Kharavela, there on the top of the Kumari or Udayagiri hill, the Jina Mahavira preached his religion to the people of Kalinga. After his demise, his bodily relics were preserved in the Udayagiri, and since that divine moment those twin hills became the sacred spot for the Jaina monks of India where they came in numbers and where many of them dwelt in their forestal shelter. To such an abode of peace and tranquillity, where the atmosphere breathed unworldly, the tired conqueror retired for religious duties. White clothes were distributed to the Jaina monks there, and other such pious donations were made. Probably for the whole year the emperor remained far out of the royal duties leaving the affairs of the state in hands of his ministers, and solely

devoting himself to deep meditation and religious discourses with the learned monks at Udayagiri. The presence of the royal sage at Udayagiri must have led those hilly wilds to be full with life. Thousands of saints from all parts of India might have gathered around that cultured monarch to hear from him and make him hear. In course of these discussions for many a days, the emperor at length strongly desired to convene a Jaina religious council on the top of that sacred hill. From far and near, from all corners of India, the Jaina intellectuals came to attend that celebrated council. This council of Kharavela reminds us of the great Buddhist council that was organised by the greatest Kushan emperor of India, Kaniska, in the beautiful valley of Kashmir, and of yet another special religious convocation that was summoned by the emperor Harsha Vardhan at Kanauj in honour of that illustrious son of China, the Chinese Master of Law—Huen Tsang. In the Udayagiri council of Kharavela the lost doctrines of Jainism were recovered and a great impetus was given to that religion. Jainism, that was rapidly waning since Asoka championed the cause of Buddhism and led it to its zenith, received a new life. Kharavela was a devout Jaina and all that he did to champion his Faith is unique in the history of Jainism.

That was not all. The royal patron of Jainism did not exhaust his boundless energy in philosophical discourses alone. The same year he spent the

inexhaustible wealth of his empire over the stony body of Khandagiri and Udayagiri in excavating one hundred and seventeen caves for the resting of the Jain saints. For many months at his new home, the emperor might have observed with awe and wonder how the Jain devotees spent their days under the heat and the torrents of that hilly wild, exposed to the attacks of the wild animals and without a shelter to protect the head. Pity and compassion would have drowned the heart of the emperor and in his pitiful state the constructive genius in him would have roused him to action. The emperor of Kalinga became determined to protect the Jains. At the call from the emperor, the architects and sculptors from all over his empire must have gathered around the Jain hills. Working at a reckless speed, those master-builders in stone worked out in a brief period of time as many as one hundred and seventeen rock-cut caves with innumerable stone pillars, shrines, ornamented altars, beautiful pavillions and decorated gateways. Besides these caves, some monumental buildings were raised to serve the purpose of the royal residence, the residence of the emperor's queens, sons, and relations. At the cost of seventyfive lakhs, a great temple was built. Like the emperor himself, many of his queens, sons, and brothers, his relations, ministers, and generals, raised lesser monuments and excavated lesser caves. Thus only within a year, or less than that, the wilds of Khandagiri and Udayagiri changed into

a paradise of saintly dwellings with the Relic Depository of the Jina Mahavira as the centre of that religious city. A few in this world of men have done so much for the welfare of those who have renounced the world as Kharavela had done.

At the beginning of the fourteenth year of his reign we find the emperor still busy in his royal hermitage at Udayagiri. As in the previous year, this year too, the emperor employed himself to the service of the monks. Perhaps the emperor by this time had completely lost himself in his spiritual quests and did not want to return back to his capital. The Hatigumpha inscription says that this year a vast and gigantic cave was excavated for the saints, monks and Sramanas who came from hundred corners of India. From the mines around the hills, thirtyfive lakhs of stone pieces were cut out, and imposing pillars and great chaityas were built. The picturesqueness of these numberless creations, the character of their sculptures, and their architectural details, undoubtedly rendered the buildings of Kharavela to be unique in the field of the ancient Indian architecture.

History missed this great emperor into the realm of darkness all of a sudden in his fourteenth year of the reign. The royal biographer of Kharavela abruptly dropped his pen never to take it up again either for the Hatigumpha or for any other stony page besides Hatigumpha, where the accounts of the remaining years of his unique patron might have been

written. The Kharavela-Charita thus remained incomplete and unfinished. It seems as if the curtain of life fell on the career of the great conqueror in the fourteenth year of his reign. But doubts crop up around this supposed death of Kharavela. At the beginning of the fourteenth year of his reign, Kharavela had just completed his thirtyseventh year of life. Death at this immature age of thirtyseven only might have shocked his great empire from one corner to the other; in Kalinga it must have been regarded as the greatest calamity of the age. The argus-eyed biographer, who observed the career of his hero year in and year out for long fourteen years of his reign and put down all the details of his hero's deeds in that eternal page at Hatigumpha, should have certainly observed the death of his hero had it been a case, and could have easily made that tragic episode the climax of his drama. But the biographer is deadly silent over the matter. There was nothing to bar him from mentioning the emperor's death for the very completion of his life-sketch. There is absolutely no reason as to why should the Boswell of Kharavela omit such an important and culminating point of a career as death. Yet the Boswell gives no hint or indication how the icy-hand of death closed an epoch-making career. We may take into consideration that perhaps Kharavela reigned for several years more after his fourteenth year of the reign, but that his learned biographer died in that year from where the biography

did not proceed. But to a royal patron like Kharavela it was not an insurmountable difficulty to find out a new biographer over the death of the old who could have continued writing till the emperor's death. In any case therefore, the last of the emperor might have been the end of his biography. But the abrupt break in the biography of the emperor at a clearly lesser age of thirty-seven and a comparatively smaller reign of fourteen throws a net of doubt if at all the emperor was dead at that age. In absence of a clear evidence regarding the death of Kharavela in his fourteenth regnal year, and unless the continuation of the Hatigumpha inscription with the finishing touch to his story, if any, is discovered from the depths of ruin in any part of his empire, one may safely imagine that it was not death but some other mysterious occurrence that took away the shining emperor from the glaze of his history. We know that at the beginning of the thirteenth year of his reign and the thirtysixth year of his life the emperor dramatically closed down his conquering career and retired into the secluded corner of Udayagiri where the Jain monks lived in peace. Once the emperor had tasted the bliss of solitude in that melancholy vastness, and once he had drunk the milk and honey from the quietistic philosophy of the Jain hermits, he abhorred the dins and bustles of an imperial capital once for all. Perhaps he never returned back to his capital where the administrative reins of his great empire were left in hands of his son

or sons, his ministers and generals. As a crown prince for nine years, and an emperor for twelve years, the tire-less Kharavela with fire and sword in his hands had conquered many lands and had won countless battles. In his stormy career, he had enjoyed many a blood-bath and had seen the dances of death over the heart of men. Now, once at a distance from the bloody field, and once out of the red walls of his capital, the emperor might have looked at askance to his life in the past. Standing on the top of the Khandagiri, turning towards the rising and the setting sun, looking at the awful etherial empire over his head, and casting disdainful eyes towards the multitudes of mortals crawling over their earthly ambition far below, the amazed conqueror might have wondered at the question—what is this life, what for is its existence? The echo over the wilds of Khandagiri might have whispered in his ears—life is but an empty dream. Thus the temporary rest, for which the emperor came to that hill, was destined to be his life-long leave. The sight of the dim towers of the distant Kalinga-nagar from the pinnacle of Khandagiri never attracted the emperor back. It is said that the great king in his hermitage realised the relation of the soul to the body. This was doubtless the final turn in his career. With the Jain philosophers the emperor discussed for many days and months, and finally came to know that the human body is but a lump of clay and that the soul required salvation from the

miseries of a bodily existence. The Jains found the existence of soul in every object, paid due respect to the existence of everything, maintained an emotional devotion to the doctrine of Ahimsa, and thought it to be an eternal damnation to raise hand at the lowliest of the lowly creatures. Such a faith, as the Jains held, was an antipode to the kingly duties of violence, war, and men-killing. The Jains believed in the theory of Karma, that is, the salvation or the damnation of the soul according to the virtues or the vices of the body. Salvation was the only thing which a Jain wanted and salvation according to him could be attained only through the complete freedom from all Karma and ambition. Before the blind mankind, the Jainism held the 'three jewels' or Triratna,—right faith, right knowledge, and right conduct—for the salvation of the soul. To crown everything, the Jain practised some wonderful penances and self-torture to strengthen his soul for its march unto salvation. Into the realm of such a faith the weary emperor entered at length. Looking behind at his past years, he saw nothing but the ghastly pictures of an ambitious Karma, and now in the company of the wise, what he wanted so dearly and pathetically as a Jain was nothing but complete deliverance from all Karma, and a life in non-violence and penance for the soul's salvation. Becoming painfully impressed by the misery incidents to human existence, Kharavela perhaps decided to devote the rest of his

life in an attempt to alleviate it. A staunch Jain as he was and sorrowful for his past life, he might have decided to renounce the world once for all and miss himself into a realm of oblivion. History has missed Kharavela while he was in penance at the Kumari hill ; his biographer has last seen him while surrounded by the sages he was deeply engaged in self-mortification over the said hill. Perhaps in a supreme moment of meditation, the remorseful Kharavela threw off his royal robes and took into the garbs of a monk, and wiping out his identity as the emperor of Kalinga, he left the hills of his royal hermitage with the multitudes of monks who came there and again went out to the lengths of India in their sagely wandering. The surprised dwellers in the hermitage, and the amazed inhabitants of the mighty empire of Kalinga, might have awaited the return of this saintly emperor for many years. The sons and the ministers of the emperor would have carried on the administration of the empire in the name of Kharavela for several years after his departure in the hope of his return, till at length one of his sons might have ascended the throne. The distressed biographer would have returned back to the capital, leaving the place where he wrote in seclusion, and might have spent his remaining days waiting for his hero ; but the hero did not return for the completion of his drama and the tired biographer might have breathed his last with his undying work remain-

ing unfinished. In the meantime, the sage Kharavela in his new life, might have wandered from place to place with other Jain monks, teaching and preaching, and doing all the penances supposed to be necessary for the salvation of the soul. For some unknown number of years the great Jain might have moved about till the old age overwhelmed him. Finally in some unknown place between Himadri and Kumarika, the traveller might have foreseen the time for his journey's end, and retiring to a lonely corner of some wild mountain or stormy shore far beyond the eyes of man, he might have breathed his last slowly and silently by slow starvation. Suicide by starvation was the traditional way of death for a Jain, and a celebrated Jain like Kharavela perhaps died the death of a Jain martyr by committing suicide in the usual Jain way.

This was thus the last of Kharavela. Such a theory regarding the death of Kharavela may not absolutely be baseless. The history of India presents a glaring example of such an episode when yet another illustrious Jain emperor before Kharavela closed his splendid career in the manner described above. He was the redoubtable Chandragupta Maurya, the founder-father of the Maurya empire. According to informations preserved in the Jain literature, Chandragupta Maurya embraced Jainism after his eventful career of hectic warfare and conquests. Once that great emperor had entered into the

pale of the Jainistic philosophy of Karma, penance and salvation, he visualised the uselessness of the materialistic endeavours of men, and finally in a mood of repentance, dropped down his imperial sceptre and abdicated the richest throne of the world to retire into some unknown hermitage. After several years of penance, the emperor at last committed suicide by gradual starvation in the approved Jain manner at Sravana Belgola in Mysore—at a continent's distance from his capital at Magadha. This is the death of Chandragupta Maurya and such a death might have repeated itself in the life of his Jain successor in India, Kharavela. In those romantic days of the Indian antiquity, our ancients placed their religion far above their life and they were more conscious of a world beyond the world they lived in ; and, in that age of mysterious faiths and practices, the relinquishment of empires and death by penance or mortification on part of the crowned heads, were though wonderful yet not unnatural phenomenon of history.

Going just the other way from the said supposition if we presume that Kharavela ruled for many years more after his fourteenth year and that the records of those years were written down over the surface of another page like the Hatigumpha but that continuation or the second part of the Kharavela-Charita had been lost to the posterity under the ravage caused by man or nature, we may safely assume that the

emperor after his temporary retirement and religious performances at Udayagiri returned back to his capital and once more took up the reins of his royal duty and for the remaining years of his reign he ruled his subjects in peace and prosperity and brought further and further glories for his people from many victorious fields, and finally when the sands of his life were run, the aged and glorious emperor closed his eyes for an eternal sleep, in the bosom of his capital and being surrounded by a crowded humanity of his mourning subjects.

Such was in brief the career and achievement of a great conqueror who dazzled the history of India two thousand and two hundred years ago. Ever since 1827, when the Hatigumpha inscription first attracted the attention of that pioneer historian Stirling who revealed to the world that there remains the life-story of a great emperor, the wilds of Khandagiri and Udayagiri have turned into a place of pilgrimage for the interested students of history, and all the renowned scholars,—Kittoe, James Prinsep, General Cunningham, Pandit Bhagabanlal Indrajī, Mr. Locke, Babu Rajendralal Mitra, Dr. Rakhal Das Banerjee, Mr. K. P. Jayswal, Mr. Beni Madhab Barua and many others,—who made diligent enquiries into the contents of Hatigumpha and carried on researches over the interesting lines of that aged document, added to the history of India a new and bright chapter on the reign of an emperor who according to the verdict of

history has become the greatest emperor that Kalinga ever saw and one of the most striking figures of the Indian annals. Born in a life-less age Kharavela gave life to India. With a triumphant army and a sound statesmanship, this immensely able ruler far outdistanced his contemporaries and became the pivot of the Indian politics.

After the downfall of the Maurya empire when the imperial tradition was under an eclipse and the country as a whole was heading towards an anarchical disruption, Kharavela took over the charge of India. In a series of successful campaigns he brought under his sway the whole of the Deccan and an extensive portion of the north as far as Mathura, and commanding in both ways towards Mathura in the north and Kumarika in the south from his central capital at Kalinga-Nagar, Kharavela preserved that historic tradition of India and stemmed the tide of her dissolution. At no time in the history of ancient India had any monarch of Aryavarta, not even Chandragupta Maurya, conquered as far south as the land of the Pandyas on the Cape Comorin where the toe of the Peninsula sank into sea. Neither did any ancient king from the south of the Vindhyas lead his army into the heart of Aryavarta as far as Mathura. To the Pandyas or the Tamils in the Peninsular India, Kharavela was an invader from the north and to the people of Magadha or Mathura he was a conqueror from the south. As a power of the north he unfurled

his flag on the last extremity of the southern India and as a southern potentate he marked his footprint on the sands of the Ganges and the Jumna. To the making of India this was the real contribution of Kharavela. The arm of this magnificent monarch was the cementing bond between the north and the south and from his homeland of Kalinga his sceptre shone as the visible symbol of an imperial unity. A few monarchs of India had presided over the destiny of her either half, the Uttarapatha and the Dakshinapatha, and in this respect, Kharavela was one with Mahapadma Nanda, Chandragupta Maurya and Samudra Gupta. The military career of this emperor was one of the rare examples of oriental valour ; his twelve years of ceaseless warfare in all corners of India was the real manifestation of a true Digvijaya. Yet the name of the Digvijayi had never been associated with any act of wanton cruelty, such as, the execution of the defeated kings or the mass massacre of the conquered people. In course of the conquest, the conqueror had harassed the kings, captured the capitals, terrified the people, seized their wealth, stormed the fortresses and, in one occasion only, had devastated and demolished a city, the city of Pithunda. But all these acts were within the inevitable sphere of a conqueror's action. Beyond this he had done nothing. On the other hand, immediately at the end of war he had exhibited unique examples of his greatness and magnanimity by open-handed

donations and other acts of benevolence towards the very people whom he defeated. An ancient Digvijayi, according to the Hindu tradition, was as terrible as the death to his enemies in the battle field, but outside the field, he was as good as a patron or a benevolent friend. Indiscriminate slaughter of men outside the field, unnecessary carnage in the conquered land, or cruel punishment to the defeated enemy, were unknown to the Hindu political theory. Wars and conquests were unavoidable necessities, but kindness and conciliation were the better part of politics. Kharavela was the true product of such a conception.

Busy in the far-away war fronts, the soldier-statesman of Kalinga never neglected the administration of his empire. Seldom in history, an ever-busy conqueror is found as a successful administrator. Like a contradictory virtue in the life of Kharavela, his administrative genius was as brilliant as his genius in war. Perhaps, this great emperor who succeeded to the throne of Asoka in Kalinga, stepped into the administrative system of that benevolent emperor whose paternal care for his subjects is unparalleled in the history of the world. No monarch, at any time or in any clime, did so much for his people as did Asoka. More was his paternalism in the land of Kalinga. In the excellent tradition of that Beloved of the Gods, Kharavela was his true legatee. Keeping the noble legacy of Asoka in front, he devoted himself solely to the welfare of his people. In kindness

and benevolence, in charitable works and humanitarian activities, Kharavela rivals any of the good monarchs of India. In those remote days of history we find this emperor deeply busy in peculiarly modern works of public welfare. The excavation of canals, erection of embankments over rivers and lakes, construction of dams and reservoirs to protect water, laying out of parks and gardens for the inhabitants of cities, and many such works that Kharavela did, resemble the works of a modern minister of public works department in an advanced state rather than the works of an ancient monarch. The boundless wealth of his empire was, as if, dedicated to the cause of his subjects. If the age of Kharavela was one of great prosperity and if his empire was an empire of wealth and happiness, it was due to the magnificent administration which the country enjoyed. Had there come a Fa-hien to the Kalinga of Kharavela, the interested pilgrim would have observed there the same sort of life and culture, the same type of people—‘numerous and happy’, ‘rich and prosperous’—and a similar government—‘benevolent and righteous’—as he saw in the empire of Chandragupta Vikramaditya of the Gupta dynasty.

The disgrace of Demetrios in the hands of Kharavela was perhaps the crowning act of the latter’s soldierly career. A true successor to the heritage of the Mauryas and a worthy precursor of the glorious Guptas, Kharavela rightly upheld the prestige of

India. Amid the names of those proud and patriotic sons of India who from time immemorial had fought in that eternal clash between India and her invaders, the name of Kharavela was one that was immensely dreaded by the enemies of his motherland.

The soldierly genius of this great emperor in no way hampered his scholarly virtues. Like Kaniska and Sri Harsha, he was both a soldier and a scholar. Living up to the tradition of the Hindu kingship, Kharavela, himself a scholar, patronised scholarship and learning. We find the emperor receiving an excellent education while a prince, and in later years we find his early education in its true colour. In the inscription, the emperor has been described as a learned expert in the science of music, and from his musical performances in his capital it is clearly evident that like the Indian Napoleon, Samudragupta, he was himself a master-musician and a kind patron of that science. A patron of literature, his own 'Charita' is in itself a proof of his patronisation. Like Samudragupta patronising a Harisena, and Harsha encouraging a Bana, Kharavela patronised that nameless Harisena or Bana of Kalinga who left for the posterity an elegant piece of prose, a precious example of the ancient Indian literature, the so-called Kharavela-Charita. We have seen the emperor in his busy days at Udayagiri while he was deeply engaged in the scholarly discussions with the wise ; we have seen him inaugurating a celebrated council

of the Indian intellectuals ; and finally we know that he revived the lost literature of the Jains after a highly intellectual pursuit. All these facts go a long way to prove that Kharavela was one of the wisest men of the East of his time.

The wise emperor was equally a peerless builder. No monarch in ancient India, except Asoka, had so much of a passion for building as Kharavela, and a few in the entire range of the Indian history were so successful builders as that king. The religious architecture of Kharavela contained innumerable rock-cut caves of different designs, sacred sanctuaries and beautiful shrines, decorated stone pillars and ornamented pavillions, and besides everything, great temples and relic depositories. His commemorative architecture contained a large number of artistic monuments, such as, huge victory towers and great victory palaces, triumphal archways and towering gates, royal residences and state buildings and similar types of other edifices. Elegant artistry on the facade of some of these edifices, which have survived till to-day from the age of Kharavela, the beauty of their sculptures and their massive and imposing body built, all proclaim to the world the grandeur of a great empire and the masterly genius of its monarch. Over the rock-bottom of antiquity, Asoka and Kharavela laid the foundation of the Indian architecture.

A devout Jain himself, Kharavela did the same for Jainism what Kaniska or Harsha did for Bud-

dhism. But this imperial patron of Jainism was in no case intolerant towards his Hindu or Buddhist subjects. We hear of this emperor worshipping at the relic depository of Jaina Mahavira, bringing out the image of Jina in a romantic procession from Magadha to Kalinga, excavating rock-cut dwellings for the Jain divines and inviting the Jain religious assembly, but we never hear of him showing the slightest disrespect to the shrines or relics of rival religions, causing any injury to any man either in north or in south in the name of religion, or perpetrating any act of violence that may be called a religious persecution. Intolerance towards the Faith of others was against the spirit of India; religious fanaticism was but a medieval conception in the history of India, a foreign product that was imported in the train of the invaders from the north-west. Noble and tolerant were the ancients of India, and more so were her ancient monarchs. Magnanimous and benevolent towards all the religions and creeds, Kharavela was a true student of the spiritual civilisation of ancient India.

Thus, in the general assembly of India's great men, Kharavela shines as a bright luminary. A soldier and a savant, a conqueror and an administrator, a king and a sage, Kharavela occupies a striking place in the annals of this land. India is proud of such a son—a great hero of her history and a fine specimen of her culture.

KALINGA AND GREATER INDIA

The expansion of India beyond the walls of the Himalayas and the waves of the ocean, cultural and political, was destined to be a great civilising force in the history of the Orient. Across the land frontier in the north and the west, in the land-mass of China, Tibet, and the Persian world, the mission of India was cultural and religious. A political conquest of the *trans-himalayan* lands was a geographical impossibility, but a religious conquest of those lands had been a unique triumph. Across the sea however, the influence of India, besides being religious and cultural, was also political. For the early champions of the Greater India movement the sea was rather an easy route, and there were enough of small and big islands for them over the watery expansion of the Indian and the Pacific ocean to colonise. Thus, while numberless missionaries from the time of the Buddha onward moved towards China, Japan, Tibet and the Central Asia and in course of time converted the mighty humanity of those lands into the religion of that Great Indian, numberless Indian colonists from the dawn of history moved towards the distant oceanic lands and in course of time not only laid the foundation of the Hindu philosophy and religion, art and architecture in that southern hemisphere, but

also succeeded in establishing powerful Hindu kingdoms over there. In the movement for the Greater India, Aryavarta had been a perennial source of the Indian scholars and divines, teachers and missionaries, who went out in unknown numbers to hither Asia and thither Asia from the flourishing viharas in Pataliputra, Gaya, Girivraja, Kusinara, Kapilavastu or from the Universities of Taxila and Nalanda. In the same movement, the Peninsular India had been the home of the Indian colonists who carried on a systematic policy of colonisation from the innumerable ports of the east and the west coast to Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Malayan Peninsula, Annam, Cochin China, Cambodia, East Indies, and the Islands of the Pacific. Modern researches into the history of the Indian colonisation are gradually revealing the fact that of all the peoples of India or of her Peninsula, it was the people of Kalinga who championed the over-sea expansion of India most successfully and became the pioneer-founders of the Indian colonies.

Kalinga and Ceylon—

With the first Aryan immigration from India into Ceylon there begins the history of that island. The name of the leader of the Indian immigrants is Vijaya and this Vijaya is the traditional first king of Ceylon. According to the Dipavamsa, Vijaya arrived in Ceylon at the time of the Buddha's death. Another tradition tells us that Vijaya arrived just on the very day

of the Buddha's death. Taking into consideration these traditional dates, Dr. W. Geiger draws the conclusion that the arrival of Vijaya and his companions in Ceylon may probably have taken place in the fifth century B.C. Thus at the grey dawn of history we find the colonists from India colonising Ceylon. But wherefrom did Vijaya come is yet a matter of controversy. According to one school of historians, the first wave of Aryan immigrants under Vijaya came to Ceylon from Kalinga. Some others hold that Gujrat was the place Vijaya came from. From that celebrated Pali chronicle Mahavamsa we come to know that "Vijaya's great-grand-mother was a Kalinga princess and was married to the king of Vanga. Her daughter was carried away by a lion when wandering in 'Lala' or 'Lada' on the road from Vanga to Magadha, and the lion begot on her a son whose name was Sinhababu, the father of Vijaya. Afterwards Vijaya, banished for his lawless behaviour, came to Supparaka and from here to Ceylon." In this account of Mahavamsa we find the early ancestry of Vijaya in Kalinga from which place his dynasty took its birth. The story of Vijaya begins with his great-grand-mother, the Kalinga princess. This princess of Kalinga was married to the king of Vanga. A daughter was born out of this marriage. This daughter while wandering in Lala on the road from Vanga to Magadha, mated with a lion. This lion certainly represents a lion-like chief or hero of that

land who married to the daughter of the Kalinga princess. A son was born to them and was named as Sinhabahu, who afterwards became the father of Vijaya. As the chronicles say, Sinhabahu who came from the land of his lion-father to Vanga was elected to be the king of that land. But Sinhabahu abandoned Vanga and built the city of Sinhapura in his native country Lada or Lala. His son Prince Vijaya committed such acts of lawlessness in his father's capital that the king was compelled by popular clamour to banish him. The banished prince set sail and touching at a certain place called Supparaka, finally arrived at Ceylon. Ceylon, as the chronicles would say, was then inhabited by Yakshas, who were undoubtedly the primitive inhabitants of that island. Vijaya married one of the Yaksha girls, Kuveni by name, conquered the Yakshas and became the king of the island. Because Vijaya was the son of Sinhabahu and Sinhabahu was the son of a Sinha, his new home was named as Sinhala. Geiger holds that the members of the clan to which Vijaya belonged, appear to have been called Sinhala, the "Lion-men". Hence comes the name of the new inhabitants of the island.

Any way, in all the traditions, legends and chronicles, wherever there is the story of Vijaya, the story starts with the Kalinga princess and ends with the conquest of Sinhala. Regarding the ancestral home of Vijaya and the place from where he left

India with his companions, it is unnecessary as to why one should go to find them outside Kalinga and Vanga. But here is a piece of historical confusion.

The country Lala where Sinhabahu was ruling has led some historians to believe that the native country of Vijaya was Gujrat, because, the name Lala is ordinarily used as the designation of a country corresponding approximately to the modern Gujrat. One or two names more, connected with the adventure of Vijaya, sound like the names of certain places in the Bombay Presidency. Supparaka of the chronicle sounds like modern Sopara, and Bharukaccha as the modern Broach. Thus, while the names of Kalinga and Vanga are indispensable with the real ancestry of Vijaya, the name Lada or Lala has pointed out towards Gujrat as the country of Vijaya. Some historians think that Kalinga and Vanga were the home of the great-grand-mother and grand-mother of Vijaya, whereas Vijaya's father was the ruler of Gujrat wherefrom started the voyage of his son. But such a conception of uniting Kalinga and Vanga with Gujrat in the story of Vijaya, sounds unnatural. Vijaya or his father could not have been a man of opposite sides of the Indian continent. It is certain that either Kalinga, or Gujrat was the home of Vijaya, but not both. H. W. Codrington rejects the probability of any connection between Vanga and Gujrat and suggests that the tale of Vijaya's mixed ancestry is due to the fact that there were two streams

of immigration, one from the western and other from the eastern side of India. Dr. L. D. Barnett assumes that the tradition of two different streams of immigration was knit together in the story of Vijaya. According to him, one of these streams may have started from Orissa and the southern Bengal, the other from Gujrat.

Thus a confusion has been created regarding the ancestry and the original country of Vijaya. In different times of history different streams of immigration might have started from different parts of India to Ceylon. But in this particular story of Vijaya there need not be combined two of such probable streams. I may suggest here one or two points to advance the theory that Vijaya was a prince of Kalinga and it was from that country that he set sail for Lanka.

Mahavamsa says that Vijaya's great-grand-mother was a Kalinga Princess and was married to the king of Vanga. Her daughter was carried away by a lion when wandering in Lala on the road from Vanga to Magadha. Thus the country of Lala, according to Mahavamsa, was situated on the road from Vanga to Magadha. At the face of such a clear statement from the author of Mahavamsa, no one need think Lala to be Gujrat. Because Gujrat is not situated on the road from Vanga to Magadha. Gujrat may have its name as Lala. But that does not mean that no other country should have been called in a name

like that. When Mahavamsa categorically says that the Lala country lay between Vanga and Magadha, there can be no speculation at all that Lala in Mahavamsa is the same country as Gujrat. Moreover, there is nothing to doubt in the clear location of a place as mentioned in a very ancient chronicle like Mahavamsa, and a historian of this age has no power or justification to interpret that name of Mahavamsa in a way that would go against the spirit of that ancient work. If Lala is identified with Gujrat, or with any part of western India, not only that Mahavamsa will be discredited but that the whole story of Vijaya will be thrown into a dangerous confusion.

Lala therefore was certainly not Gujrat. It was somewhere between Vanga and Magadha lying on the road from one country to the other. In the map of India no country is adjacent both to Vanga and Magadha except Kalinga. The northern extremity of Kalinga penetrating towards the Ganges, separated Vanga and Magadha from each other up to a certain distance. Thus, if any country lay on the road from Vanga to Magadha it was a part of Kalinga. This part may be identified with Lala in Mahavamsa. The modern Chhotanagpur and the Garjat areas of Kalinga where that land met Magadha and Vanga, were densely forested hilly regions. These areas were inhabited by the primitive hilly tribes who might have been looked upon by the men on the plain as

ferocious savages. Perhaps the chief of such a tribe had been represented as a lion by the author of Mahavamsa. The daughter of the Kalinga princess, somehow or other, came into possession of this lion-like chief while she was going from her father's land, Vanga, to Magadha for some unknown reason. The chief married the princess and out of this marriage was born Sinhabahu. Sinhabahu at the age of sixteen came to Vanga and was elected to be the king of Vanga. But he abandoned Vanga and returned back to the country of his birth, Lala, where he built the city of Sinhapura.

From the later history of Ceylon we come to know that Sinhapura was a city in Kalinga. This fact clearly proves that Sinhabahu was born in some part of Kalinga and in his mature years he ruled over a kingdom in Kalinga with the newly built city of Sinhapura as his capital. Vijaya, son of Sinhabahu, committed such outrages in his father's capital, Sinhapura, that the people of Sinhapura clamoured for the banishment of the prince. Accordingly the king banished the prince; and Vijaya with his adventurous companions left Kalinga and ultimately arrived in Ceylon. Sinhapura, as we know, was the capital of Kalinga kings for many centuries. The early Gangas issued their copper plate grants from their capital Sinhapura. This Sinhapura was probably the same place as Sinhapatha mentioned in Hatigumpha. The existence of the city of Sinhapura

in Kalinga proves it beyond doubt that Sinhabahu, the founder of that city, was a man of Kalinga. The story however does not end here.

From another broad historical fact it is clearly evident that Vijaya was a prince of Kalinga, and it was from Kalinga that he left for Ceylon. The following accounts we get from the history of Ceylon.

Nissanka Malla was the king of Ceylon from 1187 A.D. to 1196 A.D. He was born at Sinhapura in Kalinga in A.D. 1157, and was son-in-law to Parakramabahu I, the greatest king of Ceylon and whose reign is considered to mark the zenith of Sinhalese greatness. Parakramabahu brought his son-in-law from his native country of Kalinga to Ceylon. After the death of Parakramabahu, his sister's son Vijayabahu became the king. But only after a year he was murdered. The murderer was immediately put to death by Nissanka Malla who now crowned himself as the king of Ceylon. A man of pure Kalinga dynasty thus became the king of Ceylon. Many inscriptions of Nissanka Malla are to be found in Polonnaruwa. In those inscriptions Nissanka has justified his claim to the throne of Ceylon on the ground that his great Kalinga ancestor Vijaya was the first king of that island. Thus, a Kalinga dynasty was established on the throne of Ceylon with its claim of descent from Vijaya. The inscriptions at Polonnaruwa are the brightest testimony to the Kalinga origin of Vijaya.

The chief queen of Kharavela was a daughter of the king of Lala. Her name was Dhusi and she was the daughter of king Hastisinha. This Lala does not seem to have been Gujrat as the relation of Kharavela with that part of India has not yet been ascertained from any historical evidence. It seems more probable that this kingdom of Lala was situated somewhere in Kalinga, or somewhere near Vanga or Magadha with which parts of India Kharavela had a very close contact, and from which parts it was natural for the emperor to have married.

The founder of the Keshari dynasty, Yayati Keshari, issued a copper plate inscription from Subarnapura in the third year of his reign. In that inscription he boasts of his conquest of the kingdom of Lata. We cannot admit that this Lata was Gujrat, because, whatever might have been the prowess of the Keshari emperor, it was clearly impossible on his part to have conquered as far a country as Gujrat. Then, if he did not conquer Lata or Gujrat, how could he mention that in his inscription? We can never harbour the idea that Yayati Keshari gave a false statement in his inscription. At the same-time we cannot give the credit of the conquest of Gujrat to Yayati Keshari. What seems to be natural is that Yayati certainly conquered a kingdom named Lata, and this kingdom of Lata was definitely a country other than Gujrat. To come out safe from this historical puzzle, we may doubtlessly assume the fact

that in the ancient and medieval history of India there was a kingdom named Lala, Lada or Lata somewhere inside the extensive bulk of Kalinga or somewhere very near to her frontier near Vanga or Magadha.

Many other evidences may be there to prove that from no part of the Indian mainland did Vijaya and his innumerable followers come to Ceylon except Kalinga. Without Kalinga the story of Vijaya does not stand. Vijaya's great-grand-mother, Susima, was a princess of Kalinga; his grand-mother Suppa Devi was taken away by a Kalinga chief to whom she married; his father, Sinhabahu built the city of Sinhapura in Kalinga from which city Vijaya was banished for his lawless behaviour. The first Indian migration into Ceylon, therefore, that took place five hundred years before the Christian era, was undoubtedly from Kalinga.

Once the relation had been established between the two countries, a close cultural and political contact was destined to follow in the ages to come. When Asoka annexed Kalinga to his great empire, the innumerable ports of Kalinga came to be used as gateways for his missionaries to over-sea lands. The maritime trade and traffic of the Maurya empire was equally destined to pass through the Kalinga outlets. Rightly has it been observed by Panikkar, "The Magadhan monarchy till the time of Asoka did not probably have much maritime intercourse.

Chandragupta undoubtedly maintained a separate department of admiralty, which looked after harbours, maintained waterways and otherwise encouraged shipping. But it is doubtful in view of the geographical position of the empire whether the subjects of Chandragupta and Bindusara were interested in maritime traffic. The upkeep of internal harbour on the Ganges and the use of the great waterways for commerce together with the encouragement of such shipping as ventured into their harbours seem to have been the activity of Chandragupta's admiralty. But with the conquest of Kalinga and the control of great ports of that country maritime activity clearly gained greater importance as is evidenced by the fact of Asoka's own sister Sanghamitra being allowed to travel by sea to Ceylon. The routes were well known and voyages must have been frequent for the emperor to have permitted such a journey. Besides, we know that the Kalingas were traditionally a great naval power and the extension of the empire to the Kalingan coast should have added to the material prosperity of the trading classes of the time." We know from the chronicles that during the time of Asoka Buddhism was caused to be spread in Ceylon. The contemporary king of Asoka in Ceylon was Devanampiya Tissa who became a devout Buddhist and wanted to convert his people into Buddhism. "The king of Ceylon sought the friendship of the great emperor and sent embassy to him bearing costly presents and received many

presents in return and the assurance of friendship with the message'. All these exchanges of embassies and coming and going of the missionaries should have certainly taken place through the ports of Kalinga. Finally there passed from India the Sacred Bo-Tree to Ceylon in charge of the emperor's daughter, Sanghamitra, through that famous Kalinga port, Tamralipti. Dr. W. A. De Silva in his 'History of Buddhism in Ceylon' reads the incident from the chronicles thus: "Emperor Asoka decided on sending a token of the Great and Enlightened One to the land of Lanka and prepared a branch of the Bodhi Tree under which the Lord attained Enlightenment. He planted the branch in a golden vessel and when it had taken root, conveyed it to the ship, himself carrying the branch of the tree on his head and deposited with in the ship. He also sent a large number of attendants to accompany the tree ; the Chronicles mention that these were selected from the Brahmins, nobles, and householders and consisted of sixtyfour families. Princess Sanghamitra and her attendants embarked on the same ship as well as the ambassadors and messengers who came from Lanka. The ship sailed from Tamralipti and arrived at the port of Lanka in seven days. The port was known as Jambukolapatuna situated in the north of the island. The king of Lanka on hearing of the arrival of the ship had the road from Jambukola to the capital city of Anuradhapura gaily decorated. He arrived in state and himself took charge of the Bodhi

Tree. This tree was planted in the Mahamegha garden of Anuradhapura with great festivities and tended with honour and care and up to this date it flourishes the object of veneration and worship by millions of Buddhists of the present day."

The flood of culture that flowed from the shores of the mainland carried many things to the island. Kalinga that was opposite to Ceylon in the mainland shares a great deal of this credit. According to Oldenberg, Pali came to Ceylon from Kalinga. This view has also been accepted by E. Muller in his Pali Grammar. Oldenberg supported his view by comparing Pali with the dialect of the Khandagiri inscriptions.

During the reign of Sri Meghavarna in Ceylon, who ruled from 352 A.D. to 379 A.D., there was carried away from Kalinga the precious-most emblem of the Buddhist world,—the Buddha's Tooth. The following is the importance and history of the Sacred Tooth Relic as has been described by Dr. De Silva. "Ever since the Sacred Tooth Relic was received in Ceylon it has become a national treasure of great value and a tangible token of the attachment of the Sinhalese to the doctrines of the Blessed Tathagata. To-day it is enshrined in golden caskets in the Temple of Tooth Relic in Kandy which has become the centre of devout pilgrims from all over the island and from Buddhist lands elsewhere. Ancient customs and ceremonies are scrupulously kept up, offerings are

made daily and in honour of the Relic an annual festival lasting for fourteen days is held in Kandy every year during August. The procession on these occasions is conducted by tens of thousands of devotees, with elephants, lights and music and dancers. Chiefs in full ancient attire accompany the procession. Large tracts of land have been set apart as fees for services at this temple and the tenants of these lands have various services apportioned to them. The exhibition of Sacred Relic itself takes place at various intervals when tens of thousands of pilgrims find their way to the Temple to worship and view the Relic.

The Tooth Relic was in the possession of king Guhasiva of Kalinga who when he was about to be defeated in battle entrusted it to his daughter Hemamala. Hemamala with her husband Dantakumara brought over the Sacred Tooth to Lanka and handed it over to king Sri Meghavarna at Anuradhapura. From this date the Tooth Relic became the care of the kings of Lanka who built special temples for it and during the many vicissitudes of the fortunes of the kings of Lanka, the Sacred Relic was conveyed from place to place where the fortunes of the kings happened to be."

In 543 B.C. when the Buddha attained Nirvana, His Tooth was brought to Kalinga by a Buddhist saint named Khemathera and was given to the king of Kalinga, Brahmadutta, who built a Stupa to keep the Tooth. The place where the Stupa was built was

named as Dantapura. For long eight hundred years from Brahmadutta to Guhasiva, the Tooth was in possession of Kalinga. But finally it had to go out of Kalinga for Lanka in face of a foreign invasion.

The going out of the Tooth of Buddha speaks many things of the time. Kalinga by this time was a stronghold of Buddhism, rather the centre of that faith in India. King Guhasiva of Kalinga was undoubtedly a devout Buddhist. During the southern invasion of Samudragupta, perhaps the Buddhist king of Kalinga thought it safe and wise to send the Sacred Relic of Buddha to the far-off Buddhist country of Lanka in face of a Brahmanical upheaval. Either for the invasion of Samudragupta who was a contemporary of Guhasiva and Meghavarna, or for any other invasion from another corner, or for any dynastic revolution in Kalinga, the greatest symbol of Buddhism had to be removed to Ceylon. This Relic from Kalinga was however destined to be the Sacred-most object of Ceylon of all ages, and of all the Buddhists world over. Like the coming of Sanghamitra, the coming of the Kalinga princess Hemamala must have resulted in far-reaching consequences. The pendulum of a religio-cultural mission that had been so successfully swung by Asoka was kept on moving unceasingly by his religious descendants of Kalinga. With the Tooth Relic Kalinga sent many of her religious festivals to Ceylon. Fa-hien who visited Ceylon within half a century from the arrival of the Tooth Relic in Anu-

radhapura was a spectator to some festivals associated with the Tooth Relic. From the accounts of that celebrated Traveller it is clearly evident that those festivals were fresh imports from Kalinga. The 'Daladasirita' or 'History of the Tooth Relic' written by king Parakrama Bahu IV (1303-1333) of Kurunagala gives a detailed account of the annual festival celebrated on the occasion of the public exhibition of the Tooth Relic at that period. The account clearly proves that the car festival, the procession and other paraphernalias of the Tooth exhibition are exact prototypes of the car festival of Lord Jagannath at Puri. Moreover from the beginning till the end of this Ceylonese car festival we find the 'representatives of the noble families of Ganavasi and Kiling' taking a very prominent part such as removing the Relic from its shrine to the car, opening it for exhibition to the public etc. The 'family of Kiling', so much associated with the worship of the Tooth, was perhaps the distant descendant of some early Kalingan family which migrated from Kalinga to Ceylon along with the Sacred Tooth and remained there as the worshipper of the Relic.

Apart from the religious and cultural relation between Kalinga and Ceylon, there always remained a political relation as well. In different times of history, political refugees from Kalinga sailed for Ceylon and made it their home. Possibly about 609 A.D., the king of Kalinga, horrified by war, fled

to Ceylon and became a monk. This king seems to have abandoned his country in face of a foreign invasion either from the side of emperor Harsha Vardhan from the north or from the side of the Chalukya king Pulakesin II from the south.

In the middle of the tenth century, the then king of Ceylon, Mahendra IV, married a princess of the ruling family of Kalinga. Matrimonial relations between Kalinga and Ceylon might have continued constantly ever since Vijaya landed in that island. This royal wedding however, was destined for far-reaching consequences. The descendants of the Kalinga princess and their Kalingan relations played a very prominent role in the Ceylonese politics of the succeeding years. Yet another marriage between the royal families of Kalinga and Ceylon took place in the second half of the eleventh century when the Ceylonese king Vijaya Bahu married princess Tilaka-sundari of the Kalinga royal race.

As a result of these matrimonial alliances, the Kalinga element became very prominent in the Ceylonese royal court. The following pages of the history of Ceylon were dominated by the works and achievements of the Kalinga Party under some valiant and renowned leaders like Vikrama Bahu. During the first half of the 12th century, Vikrama Bahu of the Kalinga party, who was the governor of Ruhuna, played the part of a king maker in Ceylon. He defeated other parties of the court and practically

ruled Ceylon eventhough he did not accept the crown.

In the year 1153 A.D. Parakrama Bahu the Great became the king of Ceylon. He was the greatest monarch of the Sinhalese history and his achievements were unique. Parakrama Bahu went to war with the king of Pegu, led expeditions into the Chola country, enlarged and fortified his capital, adorned the city with numerous palaces and pleasure gardens, and executed many beneficial works for his subjects. His reign is considered to mark the zenith of the Sinhalese greatness. This monarch made a Kalinga prince named Nissanka Malla his son-in-law. Nissanka was born at Sinhapura in Kalinga in 1157 A.D. and was brought from his native country to Ceylon by Parakrama Bahu. When Parakrama Bahu died in 1186 A.D., he was succeeded by his sister's son, Vijaya Bahu. After a reign of one year only Vijaya Bahu was killed by a certain man named Mahindra in an intrigue. But this Mahindra was immediately put to death by Nissanka Malla who now proclaimed himself to be the king of Sinhala in 1187 A.D. With Nissanka Malla a pure Kalinga dynasty was established on the throne of the Medieval Ceylon. The triumph of Kalinga party might have been an eyesore to other parties. To suppress the hostile criticisms and carry away the people with his rule, Nissanka justified the right of his family to the throne of Lanka on the ground that the first king of Lanka, Vijaya, was a prince from Kalinga with the Kalinga blood in his

veins. In brave and bombastic statements Nissanka has proclaimed to the world his claims to the throne of Ceylon in his inscriptions at Polonnaruwa. Nissanka ruled for nine years from 1187 to 1196. During this short period of nine years only he marked his rule as one of the interesting and important reigns. He was a great builder and the present Rankot Vēhera at Polonnaruwa, the cave temple of Dambulla, and the Tooth Relic Temple, speak to the undying credit of his constructive genius. The military achievement of Nissanka was equally great. He is said to have invaded the Pandyan country thrice. The strength of his arm perhaps left no chance for any internal rebellion against his sway. Thus, contemporaneous with the Great Ganga emperors in Kalinga, a Kalinga prince ruled in the far-off Ceylon, giving a dynasty of his own to that island. Nissanka Malla was never regarded to be an alien power and no popular movement or wide-spread rising marred the Kalingan rule. Such an episode was undoubtedly the result of an age-long relation between the two lands, politically, culturally and religiously. Since a hoary past the contact was laying its root, through transmigration of population and inter-country marriages, through transfer of rites and rituals, faiths and festivals, finally both the lands had come so near to each other that a pure Kalinga dynasty on the throne of Ceylon could not be taken as a foreign rule in that island. Since the early hours of Indian colonisation, the Kalingans

had settled themselves in their new island home and by the middle ages they had come to regard themselves more as Ceylonese than as Kalingans. Yet their sympathy might have remained with their distant mother land and the coming of fresh immigrants from Kalinga might have ever drawn their support. Throughout the medieval history of Ceylon there existed a Kalinga party in the royal court of that land, sometimes playing a very useful part and at other times indulging in court intrigues. This Kalinga element might have been a great help to the success of Nissanka's rule. The reign of this Kalinga prince was undoubtedly a triumph of Kalinga over Sinhala.

After Nissanka his son Vira Bahu succeeded to the throne. But Vira Bahu survived only for a night. A period of military rule now followed. The sovereigns who came to the throne during this military dictatorship were mostly of the Kalinga race. But these rulers except one, Nissanka's half brother Sahasa Malla, were weak and mere puppets in the hands of the military leaders. After some years, Parakrama Pandya, a member of the Pandyan branch of the Sinhalese royal family, captured the throne. This king ruled for three years only. After that once more the Kalinga party triumphed over other parties and captured the throne. About 1215 A.D., a descendant of the Kalinga race named Magha descended on Ceylon with a large army of Keralas or Malabars, and

deposed and blinded Parakram Pandya. Like Nissanka Malla, who claimed the throne on the ancestry of Vijaya, Magha too claimed the Kingdom of Sinhala on the right of his inheritance through his kinsmen who had reigned before. From 1215 to 1236, for long 21 years Magha ruled Ceylon. Unfortunately this Kalinga prince could not prove himself to be a successful king. He was a bigoted Hindu and proved himself to be a relentless enemy of the Buddhist faith. Buddhists were persecuted and their temples were despoiled. Magha even went to the extent of distributing the lands of the Sinhalese to his own followers. Such a despotic rule certainly displeased the people. Many Buddhist priests went out of Ceylon to the Chola and Pandyan countries. Yet, wonderful though it sounds, Magha ruled Ceylon for long twenty-one years with a thorough and autocratic hand.

By 1244 A.D. however, the Kalinga rule came to an end. Yet the Kalinga party and the Kalinga race continued to influence the Ceylonese politics. Parakrama Bahu VI, who ruled Ceylon from 1412 A.D., is said to have been the son of a king Vijaya Bahu and his queen Sunetra Devi of the Kalinga race. When Vijaya Bahu was carried off by the Chinese, Sunetra Devi escaped with her two sons and remained in hiding for fear of the regent. Finally the elder son of Sunetra Devi killed this regent and ascended the throne. Her younger son became the later sub-king, Mayadunne Parakrama Bahu. King Parakrama Bahu

built a temple for the Tooth Relic at Kotte, and a huge Vihara near Colombo in honour of his mother, Suncetra Devi.

The principal event in the reign of Parakrama Bahu was the conquest of Jaffna by his adopted son. This Ceylonese island which faced towards the Kalinga portion of the Indian mainland, was existing as an independent kingdom since the thirteenth century. The kings of this island kingdom styled themselves as the Arya-Chakravartis. These kings claimed themselves to have been the descendants of the Ganga Imperial dynasty of Kalinga. Very probably, as some historians suggest, the Kalinga Magha or his heirs never lost their hold on the Jaffna peninsula. These descendants of Kalinga Magha perhaps regarded themselves as the scions of the Ganga-Vansa of Kalinga. Whatever it may be, the Arya-Chakravartis of Jaffna were of Kalinga origin. If they were the descendants of the Kalinga Magha, that king was surely a scion of the Imperial Ganga dynasty; if they belonged to some other family, that family too owed its origin to the Ganga Vansa.

Thus from the dawn of history till the 15th century A.D., Kalinga played her part on the soil of Sinhala. But towards the close of the 15th century Kalinga had run its course. She was now a spent bullet in her grandeur and greatness. Her naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean was fast dying out. The spirit of colonisation that inspired the early

Kalingans had gone beyond the range of recall. In the beginning years of the 16th century the Portuguese sailed through the Indian Ocean to and fro. On November 15, 1505, the island of Ceylon was first visited by the people of Portugal. Hence forward it was not the people from the Indian mainland who dominated the Ceylonese politics but the people from the far West, Europe. The Portuguese played a great nuisance in the Indian Ocean and it was for their activity that the naval enterprise of Kalinga which was dying since long received its final death blow. From 16th century onward Ceylon remained under the pale of the Western politics. The Portuguese, the Dutch, and finally the English became her masters in succession.

From the 6th century B.C. to the 15th century A.D., for these long two thousand years or more, Kalinga served as a courier of civilisation between India and Ceylon. Many names and surnames of Ceylon proclaim loudly even today of their Kalinga birth in some ages behind. The 'Puras' of Kalinga preserve in their pages many interesting facts of both the lands while they were in a bond of contact. The history of Ceylon will ever proclaim what a great contribution has Kalinga made to the growth of her political and cultural life. In the Greater India Movement, the part of Kalinga in Ceylon was really an achievement by itself.

Kalinga and Malayasia:—

As into Ceylon so also into the islands of Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Bali, the Hindu civilisation spread out in the wake of the colonists from Kalinga. That the Hindu colonisation of the so-called islands took place in the very grey dawn of history admits no doubt. But unfortunately the historical materials regarding this early colonisation are so scanty that it is difficult to ascertain the exact shape of this colonisation. There is no doubt that before the commencement of the Christian era there was a maritime intercourse between India and the Far Eastern Islands. Because, in the beginning years of the Christian era the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* observed how ships from the Indian Ports regularly sailed to Malayasia and what a busy trade relation existed between the two lands. The facts of the pre-Christian era had been buried beneath the fictions and thus the accounts of the first stages of the Indian colonisation in Malayasia we find in shapes of mere legends and traditions. From one of such well-established and widely believed legends in Java we come to know that the earliest colonisation of Java was made by the people of Kalinga. The tradition runs thus, "Twenty thousand families were sent to Java by the prince of Kling. These people prospered and multiplied. They continued, however, in an uncivilised state till the year 289 of Javanese era when the Almighty blessed them with a prince, named

Kano." Then the legend describes the reigns of three generations of kings who ruled for a total period of four hundred years. After that, as the story continues, "Another principality, named Astina, sprang up at this time, and was ruled by a prince called Pula Sera, who was succeeded by his son Abiasa, who was again succeeded by his son Pandu Deva Natha; the reigns of the last three princes together amounting to one hundred years. Then succeeded Jaya Baya himself who removed the seat of government from Astina to Kediri."

This Jaya Baya or Jayabhaya happens to be one of the most famous kings of Java who flourished in the twelfth century A.D., and who is supposed to have written down the above mentioned legend. Jayabhaya perhaps believed in the said legend and believed himself to be a distant descendant of the Kalinga families sent to Java by some Kalinga prince in a remote past. The legend that was running through centuries and written down by Jayabhaya in the 12th century had undoubtedly some historical truth in it. The migration of Kalinga families in the early stages of colonisation is backed by other evidences. Even in Ptolemy's days when he surveyed the geography of South Eastern Asia he observed a regular voyage from the great Kalinga port of Paloura to the Malayasian islands. Paloura in ancient days was a flourishing trading centre from where innumerable ships sailed for trade and colonisation in the Indian and Pacific

Oceans. In the whole of India perhaps there was no other port to rival with Paloura. The Far Eastern trade of India for many centuries was centred in this sea port. Prof. S. Levi has identified the city of Paloura with the famous city of Dantapura in Kalinga. Mr. Mahatab however believes that Paloura was not Dantapura but a port at the mouth of the river Rushikulya. Dantapura was another ancient port from where, as from Paloura, the ships sailed for eastern ocean.

It was for this early colonisation of Malayasia by the people of Kalinga that the people of ancient China named the islands of the Archipelago as Kling, a name which was undoubtedly an abbreviation of the word Kalinga. The Chinese also called the island of Java in the name of 'Ho-ling' which was the name of Kalinga in the Chinese language. The triumph of the Kalingans over the primitive inhabitants of the East Indian islands was so overwhelming that Kalinga was regarded as the mother of the colonies and the latter had even to drop their original names and be famous in the name of the country from where the new inhabitants came. The early Aryo-Dravidian civilisation of Kalinga naturally became the civilisation of Malayasia. The colonists, though became the adopted children of the islands, yet maintained the culture and religion of their ancient home. After this early colonisation by the Hindus of India there continued continuous streams of immigrations as

referred to in different traditions of Java and other islands and in the accounts of the Chinese authorities and in the pages of the Muhammedan writers of later time.

The first stages of colonisation timed from the pre-Christian era to the First and Second centuries A.D. It is during this period that the name of Java was changed to Kalinga, the kingdom of Sri Vijaya was established in Sumatra, the earliest Hindu caves and temples were erected in Borneo, and Hinduism was spread in the island of Bali.

For the Hindu colonisation of the eastern islands from the 2nd century A.D. up to the end of the Seventh century A.D., the historical records and evidences are innumerable. During this period the religion, language, literature, political and social institutions of India made a thorough conquest of those far-off lands. During this time Brahmanical religion and also Buddhism became the supreme religions of the colonies. Recently a gold ornament bearing the figure of Vishnu on his Garuda has been discovered at Perak. Ruins of beautiful shrines exist in the region round Takua Pa. Remains of a small shrine, and a fine Vishnu image have been discovered from Phra No hill representing the character of the 6th century A.D. At Khau Phra Narai there are the remains of shrines and beautiful images of Brahmanical gods probably belonging to the Seventh century A.D. The Sanskrit inscription on a pillar at Caiya

belonged to the Fourth or Fifth century A.D. From different parts of the Malaya Peninsula a large number of inscriptions have been found out, written in Sanskrit and Indian alphabets of Fourth or Fifth century A.D. Some of them refer to Buddhism and prove the prevalence of Buddhism in those regions. The upper valley of the Bandon river was essentially a Buddhist colony. The great Stupa of Nakhon and a large number of temples prove the existence of Buddhism in that region. These temples and the stupa belong to the Fourth and Fifth centuries A.D. Evidences are there that the colony of Caiya was first under the Brahmanical religion and then under Buddhism. Kalinga, which was the cradle of the Farther Eastern culture, sent out her different religions and arts to her distant colonies in different times of history. When Brahmanical faith was predominant in Kalinga, it became widely spread in Malayasia too; when Buddhism attained its zenith in Kalinga, it began to captivate the colonies under its pale. At different times, the architectures of Kalinga became her colonial architecture.

Fa-hien, who sailed from the famous Kalinga port of Tamralipti to Ceylon, visited Java on his return journey from Ceylon. The great Chinese traveller had to stop in Java or Yava-dwipa for five months. It was in the year 415 A.D. From the valuable accounts of the traveller regarding that country we come to know that Brahmanism flourished in Java at that time

while Buddhism had made a very poor progress. Soon after Fa-hien however, Buddhism made its influence strongly felt in Java. The rise of the two rival religions in Java one after another was a synchronisation of their respective rises in Kalinga.

By the 6th century A.D., a Hindu king, Puruṇavarman, was ruling in Western Java. In his inscription he has mentioned that his father dug a great canal which extended up to the ocean by the capital city. This canal was named as Chandrabhaga. The river Chandrabhaga in Kalinga was a famous name. Perhaps in imitation of the name of that Kalinga river the Javanese king named his canal as Chandrabhaga. In any way, the names of the Indian rivers and places were gradually imitated in Malayasia. The famous name Sri Vijaya is yet another glaring example.

Fresh streams of immigration continued to come. The kingdom of Kalinga that existed in Java from a very early period attained greater and greater political importance. It was the period of the T'ang dynasty in China and from the Chinese accounts of this period we come to know that the leading and the most famous state in Malayasia during this time was the kingdom of Kalinga. Doubtless as it is the colonists from Kalinga dominated that kingdom.

The culminating point to the Kalingan domination of Suvarṇa Dvīpa was attained in the 8th century A.D. A far-flung empire came into existence with

almost all the states of the Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago within its orbit. The period of this great empire was the golden age of the Malayasian history. For four hundred years, this empire, famously known as the Sailendra Empire, dominated the thither Asian islands. The pomp and splendour of this empire dazzled the eyes of the contemporary Chinese and Arab historians. The emperors of the Sailendra dynasty were powerful and cultured and with them at the helm of affairs the Indian civilisation reached its zenith in the South East. The political achievement of this dynasty was an epoch making success in the sense that for the first time in history a political unity was given to the scattered islands of Suvarna Dvipa. With this political unity and a successful imperialism under a series of great monarchs, the Sailendra Empire started an epoch by itself, never seen before and never after. A new type of civilisation, a fresh vigour from the Indian mainland, facilitated by a quick adoption of the new imports, carried this age a great way ahead. The Sailendras were Buddhists and under them Buddhism became the state religion of their empire. They were equally great builders and patrons of art. The splendid monuments of Chandi-Kalasan and Barabudur were the immortal architectural gifts of the Sailendras. They exhibit the wealth of the Sailendra Empire and the culture of its monarchs. During the age of the Sailendras the whole of the Malayasia came

to be called as 'Kalinga'. In previous ages it was only Java that was famous as Kalinga. Probably it was from Java which was the early stronghold of the Kalingas that the Sailendras made their political conquests and established their hegemony over the rest of that island world. In the hey-day of the Sailendra rule, as some historians think, the authority of the Sailendra Emperors was not only established over the whole of the Malayasia but also over the two flourishing kingdoms in Indo-China—Kamboja, and Champa or modern Cambodia and Annam. Being the leading naval power in Indonesia, the Sailendras gained an international reputation. In words of the Arabian merchant, Sulaiman, the Sailendras gained a very high estimation of the rulers of India and China. Perhaps no contemporary power in the Indian or Pacific waters was as great a naval power as the Sailendras.

The Sailendras who played such a prominent role in South Eastern Asia were the members and descendants of a Kalinga royal family in the mainland of India and who for some unknown reason left their original home and sailed off towards the Suvarna Dvipa where with the help of the former Kalingan inhabitants of the islands, they could establish their sway and gradually could spread their empire to all the islands of the Archipelago. In his monumental volumes known as 'Suvarna Dvipa', the learned historian Dr. R. C. Majumdar has given the following

statement regarding the Kalinga origin of the Sailendras. Though it is a long statement yet it is worthy of being quoted in original and in its full length, so that the product of a mighty research by so learned a historian may be well taken into account. This is what Dr. R. C. Majumdar says:

“In conclusion we must lay stress on the fact that there are some reasons to believe that the Sailendras were new arrivals from India. This would explain the introduction of Nagari alphabet in their inscriptions and a new name, Kalinga, for Malayasia, as we know from the Chinese records. The portion of the western coast of Bay of Bengal, which was known as Kalinga in old days, contained the famous port ‘Paloura’ which was from very early times the port of embarkation for the Far East. The same region was ruled over in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. by the Ganga and Sailodbhava dynasties, and behind them, in the Vindhya region, we find another dynasty called the Sailas. In the preamble of an inscription, this family is said to have descended from Ganga, the daughter of Himalaya (Sailendra), and the first king is referred to as Sailavamsa-tilaka (Ornament of the Saila family). Thus the Ganga, Sailodbhava, and Saila dynasties may all be the source of a name like Sailendra.

The Gangas were a wide-spread tribe, the most notable being the Gangas of Kalinga and Mysore. According to the tradition preserved among the

Gangas of Kalinga, Kamarnava, giving over the paternal kingdom to his uncle, set out with his four brothers to conquer the earth, and took possession of the Kalinga country. The accession of Kamarnava would fall in the eighth century A.D., according to the regnal years supplied in their records. But before him also, Ganga kings ruled in Kalinga, probably from the sixth century A.D.

The title 'Lord of Trikalinga' was borne by the Ganga kings from the sixth century A.D. till a late period. Now the expression Trikalinga is an old one, and is perhaps preserved even now in the Telinga or Talaings of lower Burma. If so, we may find here an evidence of the Ganga conquest of lower Burma in the eighth century A.D. From this base in lower Burma they might have rapidly spread to the Far East.

It is interesting to note that the names of the Ganga kings end in Maharaja or Mahadhiraja, as for example, Visnugopa-Mahadhiraja, and Sri-purusa Prthvi-Kongani-Maharaja. In the former of these we get an almost exact form of "Visnvakhyo Maharajanama", *i.e.*, having the name of Visnu Maharaja, which we meet with in the Ligor inscription. It is not, of course, suggested that the two kings were identical, but the agreement in the very unusual fashion of including Maharaja as part of the name is certainly striking. Reference may also be made to the city named Ganganagara.

Thus while no definite conclusion is possible at the present state of our knowledge, indications are not altogether wanting that the Sailendras originally came from Kalinga, and spread their power in the Far East through Lower Burma and Malay Peninsula."

Thus from the earliest times till the end of the Sailendra age in Suvarna Dvipa, there had continued the over-sea influence of Kalinga in the south-eastern region of Asia. It is through the outlets of Kalinga that India had sent her religion, culture, alphabets, art and architecture to the Far East. A naval power as Kalinga was, it became possible on her part to establish kingdoms in the Malayasian islands in the early stages of colonisation and finally a great empire during the middle ages. No other part of India except Kalinga could have played so important a role in the Far East for the simple reason of a unique geographical advantage.

The modern researches in the history of Further India reveal the early influences of Kalinga in Burma. "It is now acknowledged universally", says Dr. R. D. Banerji, "That the Talaing people of Burma, though of Mon origin, obtained their name from Tri-Kalinga." Dr. Banerji quotes also the opinion of G. E. Harvey who believes in the said supposition. According to Harvey, "Indeed the name 'Talaing' is probably derived from Telingana, a region on the Madras coast, whence so many of them came." It is not at all impossible that the

early Kalingans made their way to the coastal regions of Burma along the Bay of Bengal. In the course of a commercial contact, small Kalinga settlements must have been established. In course of time these Kalinga settlers lost themselves in midst of the native population of Burma, but they maintained a dim legacy of their Kalinga origin by naming themselves as Talaings, a name derived from the word 'TriKalinga' which was a part of Kalinga and from where did the colonists start for Burma. Dr. R. C. Majumdar believes that it was probably from Lower Burma that the Kalingans moved towards the Malay Peninsula and then towards the Archipelago. Of course, direct voyages from the Kalinga ports towards the Far East were more natural than indirect voyages through the Burmese coasts. Yet, different streams of colonists and traders might have taken to different routes and probably one such stream first moved towards the coasts of Burma along the shores of Bengal and in course of time branches of this stream migrated into Malayasia. In any way or other, the waters of the Indian and the Pacific ocean were widely traversed by the navigators of Kalinga and these pioneer colonists of India left their foot-marks on the sands of many a land. The age of Indian colonisation came to an end with the coming of the Europeans into the Eastern waters. Long before that Kalinga had entered into evil days and her naval supremacy gone. After the end of the Sailendra empire in the 12th

century A.D., the maritime activities of the Kalingas perhaps rapidly declined and during the succeeding century perhaps it came to a dead end.

The expansion of Kalinga, politically and culturally, into the lands so mentioned, was really a great contribution of that land to the civilisation of the East. Spreading Hinduism and Buddhism, Indian literature and art, and still more, infusing the Indian blood into various parts of the Asiatic hemisphere, Kalinga had greatly advanced the movement for Greater India. The legacies of the past remain till to-day. Even to-day the Pacific islanders look towards the eastern shores of India in memory of a very remote age when the people from that side came and civilised them. Even to-day the inhabitants of Suvarna Dvipa point out towards Kalinga as the home of their early ancestors. The remains of Hindu and Buddhist architecture in Malayasia still proclaim of a cultural conquest of that land by India. Hinduism in Bali is still a living force. The names Talaing, Telinga, Kling, Keling and Kalinga still continue to exist and be used by the people of Burma and Malayasia.

And in Orissa of today, the degenerated descendants of that once flourishing Kalinga race observe some childish customs to commemorate the distant voyages of their fore-fathers. Every year in the month of Kartik (October-November), for five consecutive days before the full-moon night, throughout

the length and breadth of Orissa people celebrate the ceremony of 'Boita-Bandana', or worshipping of ships. It is in this particular season of the year that the Indian Ocean becomes calm after the stormy days of the Monsoons, and most probably it was during this season that the ancient Kalingans used to take out their ships for over-sea voyages. To-day in memory of that, the people in some selected days of that season, gather near the river banks or sea-shores and float innumerable miniature boats in paper and plantain trees with the fickle intention that their boats will reach the same far-away lands to which the ships of their ancestors sailed. In some of these miniature boats 'Yava' or Barley is put, in some other, rice, oil seeds, pulses or other such things are put—all these things representing the various commodities that were taken out in shiploads by the ancients for trade. Finally in the full-moon night of Kartika the ceremony culminates. Thousands gather in banks of the important rivers, worship the ships and float the miniature boats. Women sing the folk-lore with fabulous accounts of voyages. Finally, looking towards the south in which direction have flown the rivers to meet ocean, people pay homage in memory of the early navigators. At Cuttack on the bank of the great river Mahanadi, people celebrate this festival in great earnest and pomp. Gathering in thousands on the river bank they worship the ships in a solemn manner. Many people take into small

boats and sail a little way ahead in direction of the river mouth. Innumerable miniature boats are floated with all paraphernalias of real ships. This festival on the bank of the Mahanadi, the most famous river in Orissa, is known since time past as 'Bali Yatra' or 'Voyage unto the island of Bali'.

A DYNASTY IN LEGENDS AND STONES

The Kesharis of Kalinga have no well defined history ; mostly the accounts of their dynasty remain in legends or are associated with the monuments ascribed to them. Yet the Kesharis happen to be a remarkable dynasty of Kalinga, more famous than any other dynasty except the dynasty of the Gangas. No dynasty can boast to have raised so many of monuments in the length and breadth of Kalinga as the Keshari dynasty ; no dynasty has practically done so much of public works as this one. The age of the Kesharis was undoubtedly a very prosperous epoch in the annals of Kalinga. The time of this dynasty is yet a controversial topic. Perhaps during the Sixth century A.D., the Keshari dynasty raised its head in central Kalinga, and approximately during a long range of time extending from the 6th century till the beginning years of the Eleventh century, sometimes for at least 300 years this dynasty remained the supreme power between the Ganges and the Godavari. The names of a large number of monarchs belonging to this dynasty have come down to posterity and the names of many of them have been associated with great achievements either in the field of religion or of art and architecture. There being

no other set of monarchs belonging to any other dynasty or dynasties to claim the achievements ascribed to the Kesharis, we may safely assume that all the religious, architectural and public works so closely associated with the names of the Keshari monarchs exclusively belong to them. The traditions, running down through centuries, are so pregnant with the names and deeds of the Kesharis and there being no rival group of traditions to throw any doubt or suspicion on the accounts so maintained, it is easily presumed that the Kesharis were immensely famous and their works were deeply engraved on the very life and memory of the nation which they ruled so successfully.

The founder of the Keshari dynasty was one Janmejaya who perhaps taking the advantage of the downfall of the Gupta empire tried to lay the foundation of a powerful and independent dynasty in Kalinga. His pompous titles such as 'Maharajadhiraja', 'Lord of Tri-Kalinga', 'Parama Maheswara' etc., go a long way to prove that he was a powerful king and was perhaps successful in founding a new empire. The Kesharis mark their reign with the revival of Brahmanism in Kalinga with a new vigour. Janmejaya, the first Keshari ruler, began the policy of patronising the Brahmins. From the copper plate grants of this king we come to know that lands and villages were issued to Brahmins. It is an immortal credit to the name of the Keshari kings that most of

them built some monuments or other, some cities or towns, some forts or temples, embankments or ramparts. The first king of the dynasty is credited to have built the famous city of Chawduar between the rivers Mahanadi and Birupa and made it his capital. The ruins of Chawduar are to be found even today. That the Brahmanical reaction began with the Kesharis is evident from one more fact that this king, according to tradition, performed a 'Yagna'. The popular belief still points to a place named Aggrahat in the district of Cuttack to be the spot where that Yagna was performed.

The next important monarch of this dynasty was Yayati Keshari who is very famous in the legends and traditions of Kalinga. He was undoubtedly the greatest king of the Keshari dynasty and his greatness is proclaimed by innumerable architectural monuments in many parts of Orissa which exist till today. With Yayati on the throne of Kalinga the whole empire was brought under the rising tide of Brahmanism. The Kesharis were staunch followers of Saivite faith and Yayati Keshari was perhaps the greatest Saiva emperor that Kalinga ever had. For many centuries past Jainism and Buddhism had existed as the supreme religions of Kalinga. In the great religious city of Bhubaneswar where innumerable Jaina shrines, caves, and depositories had been erected since time immemorial and at Puri where Buddhism had centred itself around the tooth relic

of Buddha, the Hinduism had suffered an immense loss in prestige and influence. From those two religious centres, Jainism and Buddhism had exerted themselves throughout the length and breadth of Kalinga. Ever since Asoka patronised Buddhism and Kharavela patronised Jainism, Kalinga had been a stronghold of those two religions at the cost of Brahmanism. No powerful monarch of the calibre of an Asoka or Kharavela, or of a lesser calibre, had championed the cause of the eclipsed Brahmanism in a dignified manner. As if it was left for the illustrious Yayati to become the Kharavela of Brahmanical faith. His predecessor had already swung the pendulum and he was to give a culminating momentum to that great movement.

In the heyday of Jainism and Buddhism when Brahmanism had suffered an eclipse, as a natural consequence to it the Brahmins had become degenerated in their religious practices. Perhaps there was no Brahmanical orthodoxy among the Brahmins of Kalinga and they had no vast knowledge over their faith. Yayati realised this failing. A fresh blood into the Brahmin society of Kalinga was an essential necessity and the great emperor set his mind in this direction first before he had proceeded to do the rest. Ten thousands of pure, orthodox Brahmins, well versed in the Vedas and vastly learned in Brahmanical practices, were brought from the distant Kanyakubja enmass never to return back. These new-comers had

to settle down in Kalinga for all times to come under a very liberal patronage of the emperor himself. This fresh import of learned Brahmins gave a new blood to the existing Brahmin society and helped immensely in advancing Brahmanism. To celebrate the coming of these new Brahmins and to proclaim this to the world, Yayati Keshari performed a great 'Yagna' on the bank of the sacred river of Vaitarani. The Yagna was performed with the help of those learned new-comers from Kanyakubja. The place where the great Yagna was celebrated became a famous centre of religion. The presence of the emperor there, with his ministers and the imperial staff, caused a new city to spring up on that bank of Vaitarani. Temples and Ghats, Vedic images and Saivite shrines were raised at the instance of the emperor. Finally it so happened that this religious centre turned into a political centre. In that healthy environment of Vaitarani the emperor decided to build his new capital. The master builders and architects were summoned and within a brief period of time a famous city of Kalinga came into being. The centre of political gravity was shifted from Chawduar to the bank of Vaitarani and this new capital was destined to play a great part in the religious and political history of Kalinga. Because the capital was erected around the sacred spot of 'Yagna', it came to be famously known as 'Yagnapura', 'Yagapura' or 'Jajnapur'. In course of time this name changed

itself into 'Jajpur'. During the rule of the Keshari monarchs Jajpur flourished as a great metropolis of Kalinga. Innumerable Hindu temples and Saivite images covered the face of that great city. As it was stored for the credit of this city, it was from here that the momentum of a Hindu revival in Kalinga was let loose. In the days of Buddhist ascendancy this very place was a stronghold of Buddhism. By the irony of history, it now became a great centre of Saivism. Hundreds of years had flown by since Yayati built his new capital, but ruins of countless shrines and temples and existence of numberless Saiva images in the wide extension of Jajpur, all point out even today to a great and flourishing past that Jajpur had. Jajpur even today is one of the holy places for the Hindus of India. The sacred spot where Yayati performed his Yagna and the Yaga pillars of that Saiva king are still the objects of worship. The famous 'Dasaswamedha Ghat' on the bank of Vaitarani which exists till today was another work of Yayati. Every stone relic of this once flourishing capital of Kalinga carries the story of Yayati or his descendants and the sacredness associated with the name of Jajpur is due to the religious activities of the Keshari kings there.

The movement which Yayati began at Jajpur was carried by him to the other religious centres of Kalinga. After everything had been done at Jajpur, the attention of the emperor was shifted from that

place to Puri. Puri which was so far a famous centre of Buddhism was destined to be flooded by the rising tide of Brahmanism and finally here in this religious centre the decaying Buddhism was to be finally absorbed by the Hinduism. The process of this absorption began under Yayati. The old temple of Jagannath which was almost in ruins was built anew. But the work did not stop with the construction of a new temple only. Very cleverly Yayati incorporated many Buddhist systems of worship into the worship of Jagannath. No distinction of caste, which was a distinct characteristic of Buddhism, was vigorously enforced before the temple of Jagannath. Perhaps gradually from this time that Jagannath came to be regarded as Buddha and Buddha was taken into the Hindu pantheon as one of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. The revival and triumph of Hinduism was complete when Jagannath was identified with Buddha and Buddha became a Hindu incarnation. If according to some scholars, the image of Jagannath was originally a Buddhistic symbol and was worshipped by the Buddhists of Kalinga, Yayati Kesari by reviving the worship of Jagannath gave a new impetus to Buddhism. But this clever impetus hastened the death of Buddhism instead of reviving it. Because, Brahmanical rites and systems, introduced into the worship of Jagannath, changed Jagannath into a purely Hindu God. Thus the part played by Yayati in uniting Buddhism and Hinduism at Puri was great

and because the pressure of Hinduism was overwhelming under the new vigour given by Yayati, Buddhism finally lost itself in the hydra-headed fold of Hinduism. The erection of a new temple which must have been built in the pattern of the Keshari architecture certainly increased the importance of Puri to a great extent. The revival of the worship of Jagannath along with the construction of the new temple must have attracted hundreds and thousands of pilgrims from all corners of India. The unique fame of Puri, which was to attract the great religious preachers and scholars of India in a later time, practically began to ascend towards its high watermark from the time of Yayati Keshari. The work begun by this Keshari monarch attained its culmination under the Imperial Gangas of Kalinga when Jagannath Puri became the unrivalled centre of Hindu religion.

But the most important works of Yayati were centred at Bhubaneswar. Since a hoary past the surroundings of Bhubaneswar had seen the rise and decay of many flourishing cities and royal abodes. It was near Bhubaneswar that the Nanda emperors of Magadha had their seat of authority ; in the same surrounding the emperor Asoka erected his great southern capital of Tosali ; over or near about the capital city of Asoka, the Chedi emperors and Kharevela built their famous capital of Kalinganagar. While prosperous royal sites were buzzing with life

in one corner of Bhubaneswar, in other corners of the place, on the summits of Udaygiri and Khandagiri or at Dhauli, great religious movements were taking place. In an immemorial past Jina Mahavira preached Jainism from the top of Udaygiri. Asoka converted the Kalingans into Buddhism from the summit of Dhauli. Kharavela revived Jainism in Kalinga from Khandagiri and Udaygiri. In different times different religions had flourished in those spiritual wilds of Bhubaneswar. Innumerable Buddhistic Stupas and Jaina caves had been erected by the respective champions of Buddhism and Jainism. Bhubaneswar had really been the centre of the religious life of Kalinga and an eternal abode of the Indian religions. To such a holy place the great Keshari king now turned his attention. If Buddhism and Jainism had had their days at Bhubaneswar, the time now came for Brahmanism to rise and flourish there. If Asoka had patronised Buddhism and Kharavela Jainism on that sacred soil of Bhubaneswar, Yayati Keshari had been ordained to patronise his faith on the same soil. Buddhism and Jainism had run their full course in Kalinga and the time was now ripe for Brahmanism to step in. Yayati Keshari, after he had raised the religious monuments at Jaipur and Puri and had converted those two places into two famous strongholds of Saivism, directed all his energies towards Bhubaneswar so that that stronghold of Buddhism and Jainism should be converted

into a Saiva centre. The emperor was now at the height of his prestige and power. For many years past he had ruled Kalinga in peace and prosperity. The accumulated wealth of this prosperous empire was now at his disposal to be spent in erection of countless Saiva temples in the plains of Bhubaneswar. The first temples to raise their heads were perhaps the temples of Parasurameswar and Mukteswar. The architecture of these two temples are more than enough to prove that the Keshari architecture was by far the best of the contemporary architectures of India. The temple of Mukteswar, which dazzles the eyes of countless observers of different climes and of all times, is one of the finest representatives of the Hindu architecture. The grandeur of this temple, the fine needle work on stone, and its attractive imposition, all prove in eloquence what a masterly hand the Hindu architects of Kalinga possessed in those days. Tradition maintains that Yayati built nine thousand, nine hundred and nintynine temples at Bhubaneswar. This number may be a traditional number, but this number is sufficient to indicate that Yayati built many temples at Bhubaneswar most of which exist till today, facing the ravages of men and nature. Standing on the hill of Udaygiri if one casts his eyes upon the extensive vastness of the plains of Bhubaneswar, he sees a countless number of temples, small and big, looking new or in ruins, as far as the eye can see. Many of these innumerable temples

were the works of Yayati Keshari himself there is no doubt. Numberless stone images of the Saivite Gods adorned the shrines of Yayati's temples. Never before Bhubaneswar was so flourishing a city and never before it saw such a wonderful play in stone. The super-human effort of the emperor, his tireless labour and great determination, changed Bhubaneswar into a city of temples and gods, a city which was destined to become the greatest centre of Saivism in India since then. The culminating point to the creative genius of this monarch was reached when he laid the foundation of the great temple of Lingaraj at Bhubaneswar. This imposing and unique fabric, however, could not be completed by the emperor who began it. Nevertheless, Yayati had done his work. Though the Great Temple remained his life's undone yet the momentum that he had set in motion was to move on for generations after his death. In age and honour Yayati breathed his last after a very long reign. Before his death, to his immense satisfaction, the great Saiva monarch must have seen his life's aim fulfilled. Entire Kalinga had been flooded with the Saivite cult of Hinduism, Brahmanical faith and practices had rapidly absorbed the decaying Buddhism and to crown everything, the centre of the Brahmanical revival in India had been located at Bhubaneswar. A few Hindu monarchs in India had done so much for their religion as Yayati. The splendid monuments of Bhubaneswar are the

brightest testimony to the immortal service of Yayati Keshari to his Faith and his land.

After the reign of one or two successors of Yayati, the next important monarch of the Keshari dynasty, Lalatendu Keshari, came to the throne. The construction of the Great Temple which was going on since the time of Yayati was finally completed by Lalatendu. More than two generations had already laboured on the temple and now it took thirty-five years of the reign of Lalatendu to give a finishing touch to that mighty monument. The fame of having completed the great temple of Lingaraj is really an undying fame for Lalatendu. The massive and imposing structure of the temple along with the finest type of needle decoration has endowed the monument with a masculine appearance and a feminine grandeur. The temple of Lingaraj is unquestionably the greatest Hindu monument that exists till today, unrivalled for its body built and beauty, for its sculptural and decorative art and for the super engineering skill with which the temple had been built to defy the ravaging strength of time. Over the surface of the stone that the master builders of that age had written down the strength, wealth, culture, and splendour of their imperial patrons.

With the completion of the Great Temple the importance of Bhubaneswar must have increased to a great extent. Lalatendu duely realised this increased importance and the growing international fame of

that religious site and at length decided to transfer his capital from Jajpur to Bhubaneswar. Bhubaneswar was the traditional capital of the great dynasties of past, it had a long and glorious history at its back. By selecting such a place as the venue of his new capital, Lalatendu showed a remarkable piece of statesmanship. Before the order of transfer had been carried out into action, Lalatendu built a well planned city around the Great Temple. Just near the temple a magnificent royal palace was erected for the king and his family. The ruins of this palace are yet to be found in the vicinity of Lingaraj temple. When everything was ready the capital of the Keshari dynasty was shifted from Jajpur to Bhubaneswar. Since then the political importance of Jajpur rapidly declined though it remained a flourishing religious centre for many generations more. On the other hand the importance of Bhubaneswar attained to its zenith as there centred both the political and religious life of a thriving empire.

After the construction of the temple and the capital had been completed, and after the king had settled himself in his new centre of authority, he next devoted himself to purely religious works. Rules and regulations were laid down for the celebration of various ceremonies that were to be associated with the worship of Lingaraj. The manner in which Lingaraj, the supreme Deity of Bhubaneswar, is worshipped today and a large number of festivals that are per-

formed in different months of the year, are the works and legacies of Lalatendu and his time.

The next important king of the Keshari dynasty was Subhakar Keshari. From the history of China we come to know that one of the Kalinga kings of the 8th century A.D. sent a mission to China with the present of a book named 'Buddhabatamsa Sutta' to the Emperor of China. According to some scholars it was Subhakar Keshari of the Keshari dynasty who sent this mission. A translation of the book that was presented to the Chinese emperor and also a coloured canopy of Kalinga that was sent with the book have so far been preserved in a museum in China. This cultural contact between Kalinga and China during the Keshari period was an interesting phenomenon of that age. The despatch of a mission to so far a land as China and the present of a Buddhistic Book to a Buddhist emperor by a Saiva monarch of Kalinga brings out clearly the fact that the Kesharis were highly enlightened, cultured, broadminded and liberal.

Sishupal Keshari, yet another king of the Keshari dynasty, built a very big fort in the south-eastern vicinity of Bhubaneswar on the bank of the river Gangua. This fort was built most probably on the site of the ancient capitals of Kalinga and was named as Sishupal Garh. This fort was perhaps buried by some later kings when it began to decay. The raised mound on the bank of Gangua long attracted the

attention of the archeologists and historians and finally the work of excavation was taken up by the archeological department of the Government of India very recently. The buried city of Sishupal Garh contains different startas of ruins belonging to distinct civilisations. It is evident that from time immemorial Sishupal Garh played a great part and long before Sishupal Keshari of the Keshari dynasty had erected his fort, there existed thriving cities in different times.

The next famous Keshari king was Nrupa Keshari. We have already seen the early three Keshari capitals, one at Chawduar, the second one at Jajpur and the next at Bhubaneswar. Nrupa Keshari built yet a fourth capital. A new city and a strong fort were constructed on the plain land between the rivers Mahanadi and Kathjori and the capital was transferred from Bhubaneswar to this new city. It seems as if the Keshari emperors of Kalinga had a peculiar temptation to construct large cities and transfer their capitals very frequently from the old to the new. Nrupa Keshari named his new capital as Baranasi Katak or Benares Cuttack. The transfer of capital from Bhubaneswar by no means reduced the importance of that place. Because Bhubaneswar by this time had already become the acknowledged centre of Brahmanism in India and a place of pilgrimage for millions. The future kings of Keshari dynasty or of other dynasties went on adding new temples to the number of existing many and the fame of Bhuba-

neswar increased day by day as the time proceeded. The transfer of the secular activities of the state from Bhubaneswar therefore by no means affected its well established religious importance, while on the other hand, a new capital city of an outstanding importance and fame came into existence at the strategic corner of Cuttack. From the time of Nrupa Keshari onward the city of Cuttack remained as an unrivalled political centre of Kalinga and through innumerable political storms, rise and decay, national prosperities and foreign dominations, Cuttack has never lost its position as the political stronghold of Orissa. Though the city of Benares Cuttack founded by Nrupa Keshari is no more in existence, yet the modern city of Cuttack can boast of its origin from that capital city of Nrupa Keshari.

Nrupa Keshari was succeeded by Marakata Keshari. The new capital at Cuttack founded by Nrupa Keshari was soon discovered to be under a grave and constant peril. The capital was exposed to a severe type of high flood both from the river Mahanadi on one side and the river Kathjori on the other. Situated on a low land between the two biggest rivers of Kalinga, Cuttack could not guarantee a security of life to her teeming population. But the Keshari king was too great an engineer to save his capital from the threat of flood. Strong and huge stone embankments were raised on either side of Cuttack, facing river Mahanadi on the right and Kathjori on the left. The

stone embankments of Cuttack are really a unique feat of the ancient engineering skill of Kalinga. Defying the fury of flood year in and year out for hundreds of years, these embankments protect the city of Cuttack from utter demolition up till now. Standing from the depth of water the gigantic embankments present a fort like massive appearance to an observer from the opposite side of the river or to one who looks towards Cuttack from the incoming or outgoing trains of the Bengal Nagpur Railway while on the Mahanadi or the Kathjori bridge. The mortar used in keeping the stones together by the master builders of that time is yet a challenge to the modern masonry. The exchequer of Marakat Keshari must have spent a huge amount in the construction of that peerless work. In no part of India can there be found such a unique project for the protection of a city. Undoubted as it is, if the city of Cuttack has flourished through ages, it is for an undying success in stone achieved by the public works department of Marakata Keshari.

Three kings of the Keshari dynasty ruled after Marakat, Saranga Keshari, Matsya Keshari and Subarna Keshari. Saranga Keshari built yet another fort to the south of Cuttack known as Saranga Garh and excavated a big tank named as Saranga lake. The ruins of the fort and the tank are yet to be found. Matsya Keshari built the bridge of Atharnala over the river 'Madhupur' near Puri. This bridge is

another bright specimen of the ancient engineering skill. For these one thousand years the bridge is lying intact. The arches of the bridge clearly prove that the art of building in Kalinga attained an all round perfection during the Keshari age. That the arches can remain undamaged for one thousand years is a rare example in the field of architectural manoeuvre.

The last king of the Keshari dynasty was Subarna Keshari. This king had no son. According to one source of current traditions, Subarna Keshari invited Chodaganga Dev to come from the south and accept his throne. According to another source, Chodaganga Dev invaded Kalinga under the instigation of a treacherous minister of Keshari king, Basudev Bahinipati by name. Any way or other, the Keshari dynasty came to an end with the end of Subarna Keshari's rule. For many generations, this dynasty had ruled Kalinga in peace and prosperity till at length perhaps decay and weakness set in and the Keshari dynasty had to give way to the rising power of the Gangas.

Besides the above named, the Keshari dynasty had many more kings. In the nook and corner of modern Orissa there are to be found innumerable ruins associated with the names of the Keshari kings. History has mercilessly neglected this illustrious dynasty which revolutionalised the religious, cultural and political life of Kalinga. No systematic record of the ruling monarchs or of their achievements has been made so

far accurately. Our ancients cared little to write history; Hindu monarchs who patronised every art, did not patronise the art of writing the history of their reigns as did the Muslim monarchs of a later age. It is undoubtedly a great failing of our forefathers for which the posterity is so repentant. Like many Hindu dynasties of ancient India the Keshari dynasty too suffers from this general failing. But if History has betrayed the Kesharis, the Kesharies through their wonderful creative genius have left a glowing picture of their time, their country, and their people. Over the hard surface of every Keshari monument, the life, wealth, and culture of the age have deeply been written. The history of a country is not merely a dry and dreary summary-record of its kings and their conquests, but it is the true mirror to the very life of that country's people. Historical literature patronised by some ambitious monarch is always a vain-glorious and exaggerated account of his personal achievements, containing no picture of the people or the country he ruled over and the time he represented. Almost all of the Muslim monarchs of India patronised such a literature, and if such a literature can at all be called as history, it is certainly a history of only one individual and some of his associates but not a history of the nation. The Muslim kings must be praised that in the wake of their invading armies the art of historiography entered into India, but the fact should not be neglected that history of their concep-

tion was not always a real history. The Hindu kings invariably neglected to keep any record of their reign for which history can never forgive them, but sometimes some of them have unconsciously painted the real history of their people through that celebrated piece of work known as Art. The art and architecture of a Hindu king is a fine replica of his time and people. The imaginative genius of the Hindu architect, the penetrative eye of the Hindu sculptor, could depict the vivid picture of a society they lived in, in stone and chisel. The Keshari architecture is a peerless specimen of such a representative art, an art that represents its time and culture.

What picture of the people do we get from the walls of the Keshari monuments? It is the picture of a people that enjoyed an unbounded wealth and happiness. The art on the temple walls pictures all the sections of the society. There are the kings with their queens and nobles coming out in procession or conducting the court. There are the war marches or the victorious home coming of the royal army. People are busy with their works and pastimes, women in their process of dressing and luxurious set up. There are hermits and sages doing penance and worship, priests and preachers busy in religious practices. The dress of the aristocracy is one of extreme luxury and fashion, the ornaments in body of the women folk put the modern jewellers into shame. The musicians use a very wide variety of musical instruments, the

dancing girls exhibit a unique standard of oriental pose. The common people appear extremely cheerful and happy. In the schools there sit the royal princes and the children of the peasants, boys and girls, in the same seat before the same teacher. The hunter hunts in forest, peasant ploughs the land, merchant carries on his business, householder is busy in family affairs, labourer labours in field, but all are well dressed, well contented, healthy and happy. The innumerable members of this stony society stand in walls as the society of our age stands in photograph. There is no picture of starvation and poverty or no depiction of famine in the Keshari album. The whole atmosphere of that temple-world breathes peace. There is no picture of any gruesome punishment, no scene of wanton cruelty. The society is unquestionably rich; even male members and even the most ordinary of them, use various types of gold and silver ornaments in neck, arms, wrist and ear. Turbans are commonly used both by the rich and the lowly, the dresses are of a wide variety and decorated with fine needle works. The surroundings of the king are of noteworthy splendour. The royal throne and umbrella present an exquisite beauty, the royal attendants appear in full uniform, the court yards and palaces are beautifully decorated. The nobles use various articles of luxury, and their chairs, beds, dresses, turbans, swords, and shoes all are richly ornamented. They travel in palanquins, on elephants and horses. Flower vases,

mirrors, fans, ornamented utensils are their commonly used things. Beautiful wooden carts drawn by horses or bullocks are used by the peasants. Their implements are of a very developed standard. The soldiers use the traditional war weapons such as arrows and bows, swords and daggers, spears and javelins. War drums, clarions, and trumpets are used by the soldiers during war marches. Chariots, elephants and horses are the main war time conveyance. There are infantry, cavalry, elephant force and charioteers. The commanders generally sit on back of elephants or in chariots. The kings and generals are seen carrying national flags into the battle fields.

The art of music in Kalinga perhaps reached its zenith at this time. We find a world of musicians, artists, singers and dancers. The musical instruments are so many and of such wide variety that perhaps at no time in Kalinga music attracted so much of interest from all sections of the society. The pictures of musical performances are so attractive, the choicest beauties in their dancing pose are so life-like and the musicians playing upon their instruments are so much vigilant, that to a close observer as if an eternal rhythm comes out from the performances of those mute performers in stone. The kings and peasants, men and women, all of the Keshari age are attentive listeners to the rhythm of their age.

The women enjoy a unique prestige in the society. The girls sit with the boys under the same roof and

before the same preceptor to receive education. Before the innumerable gods they are the devout worshippers. In social functions and ceremonies they play the most important part. Art and music are mostly their monopoly. Dancing is their noble pastime. In general assemblage of men we find the women duly respected and given a place of equality. In conducting household affairs they are extremely able. Thus they read, worship, sing, dance, conduct the house, play the mistress, take part in social functions and celebrate religious ceremonies. In fashion and luxury they are the most fortunate lot, in society theirs is the highest amount of happiness.

The animal world does not go unrepresented in the Keshari art. Countless numbers of elephants and horses appear for the necessity of men. Cows and bullocks remain busy in their spheres of work. Birds of different varieties, various other living creatures are found amid their living surroundings. The Keshari sculptor seldom missed anything that came to his eyes.

In such a representative art the life in society in its multifarious aspects was clearly painted. The details of Keshari art and a clear interpretation of every pictured stone would open before us an authentic and golden chapter of the human history in this land. Seldom there is an art so broad and so life-like, so representative and so symbolic, so beautiful and so faithful. The age of the Kesharis is

undoubtedly a great age of the Orissan art and architecture.

Ruling over a land of unbounded wealth and prosperity, and patronising art, architecture, music, sculpture, literature, philosophy, and religion, the Keshari monarchs gave Kalinga an unprecedented age. For the most part this age was an age of peace, there being no foreign invasions and internal disruptions. Taking advantage of this peace and wealth, the Keshari rulers could divert their whole energy towards a lavish play in stones and bricks. The splendid cities of Jajpur, Bhubaneswar and Cuttack are their immortal creations. The ruins of a large chain of fortresses from the one corner of their empire to the other proclaim the political strength of the Kesharis. Numberless small and big temples throughout the length and breadth of Kalinga, the mighty religious monuments at Bhubaneswar, temples at Puri and Jajpur, countless stone images all over the empire, the colossal embankments over the rivers Mahanadi and Kathjori, and a large number of tanks, bridges, palaces and roads here and there, these are the witnesses to the pomp and splendour of the Keshari rulers, to their wealth and breadth of vision, to their charity and benevolence, to their passion for building and religious outlook. Eventually the age of the Kesharis is one of the most creative epochs of the Kalinga history.

AN EMPIRE-BUILDER OF THE 12TH CENTURY

With the death of Harsha in 646 A.D. there ended the last great epoch of the Hindu imperialism in the North. Throughout the course of the Indian history, there have been from time to time, ages of flourishing national empires, periods of unusual cultural activity, and also eras of great depressions, of national decay and degeneration. The age of Harsha, though a brief one, was an age of empire and unity, an age that saw the outburst of an excessive national life and energy. At the end of such an activity, India stood on the grave of one glorious epoch ; the coming age was to be completely of a different nature; it was destined to be a period of prolonged national agony, cultural decay and political chaos. From the death of Harsha till the establishment of the Turkish sultanat at Delhi, the Northern India knew no imperial unity. Mushroom powers rose in different parts of India. Stronger ones among them exhausted their strength in a perpetual struggle among themselves. The noteworthy among the fighting powers were the Gurjara-Pratiharas, the Palas, and the Rastrakutas. The political canker was gradually eating to the core of the national life. The nation was day by day pounding itself into incoherent atom-like particles. Gradually

the number of the fighting powers was increasing. The Chandellas of Bundelkhand, the Kalachuris of Chedi, the Paramaras of Malwa, the Chalukyas of Gujrat and the Chauhans of Rajputana and many other new dynasties had sprang up to divide the Northern India to as many territorial bits as possible and to create as much of political chaos as the Indian history could have experienced. While India had drowned herself in such a whirlpool of confusion, ironically enough, she was not invaded by any foreign power from across her North-West frontier for some hundreds of years. In the absence of a foreign threat, the eternal vigilance against the foreigners, which always inspired the Northerners to remain united under a powerful sceptre, was no more in their minds. From the 8th century onwards the Rajputs dominated the history of the Northern and the Western India. No people in the entire annals of the human race can rival the Rajputs in valour, patriotism, spirit of sacrifice and chivalry. But the Rajputs were conspicuously incompetent in diplomatic games. Annals of Rajputana are crowded with the names of innumerable heroes and soldiers whose heroic deeds sound like epic romances. But the Rajput history can seldom boast of a great statesman who combined diplomacy with chivalry to outwit and defeat the enemies for the cause of a united India. The Rajputs were patriots, but their patriotism was mostly local and dynastic. Even at the zenith of their power they seldom felt for the

cause of India and her political unity. They never tried properly to study the signs of the time and rise equal to the occasion. This failing of the Rajputs was the most unfortunate phenomenon of the Indian history, and had there been no such error in the Rajput national character, it is doubtful if at all Islam could have been able to establish its root on the soil of India. The Rajputs, while dominant in the Northern and the Western part of India, remained so busy in the fratricidal wars and local politics of their countless states, that they had not only no time to think of an imperial unity in India, but also had no statesman-like eagerness to know what was happening just outside the North-West frontier of this land. While the Rajputs were enjoying an extensive age of three hundred years in India known as the Rajput period of the Indian history, wide-spread and far-reaching changes were taking place in the politico-religious life of the Central-Asian world. Islam, born in the deserts of Arab, was fast expanding towards Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia, and in a dramatic suddenness it overwhelmed all the hither Asian states. Along the African coast of the Mediterranean, the armies of Islam conquered far and even appeared before the gates of Spain. The eastern European Christian states easily succumbed to the might of that rising power. The rise of Islam was so vigorous and its pressure was so immense that the weight of its invading army pressed upon the north-western

frontier of India. Within a few years of the death of the Arabian Prophet, the Arabs made themselves felt in the Indian province of Sind. Soon afterwards Sind was conquered and made an Arab province. No doubt the Arab administration of Sind was destined to melt away without any permanent effect on the soil of that land, nevertheless Islam had done its duty in India. Towards the close of the ninth century Sind had shook off the Arab domination, but towards the last part of the tenth century the Turks had appeared on the north-west of India for the establishment of their final authority on this soil. The Arab conquest of Sind might have ended merely as 'an episode in the history of India and of Islam, a triumph without result', but the invasion of India by the Muhammedan Turks was to begin with far-reaching consequences and end in the domination of Islam over India. A wonderful phenomenon as it is, the rise and spread of Islam, the coming of the Arabs into Sind and the final preparation of the Turks for their invasion of India, all these great movements of history passed unnoticed and unrealised by those at the helm of India's destiny. Over the tattered bits of Northern India the Rajputs played on their parochial role while grounds were prepared for a foreign rule.

If the Northern India, between the death of Harsha and the establishment of the Turkish rule, had no imperial unity, so also was the case with the Southern India where there was no strong and stable

empire of fame to act as the focusing centre of the southern politics. The great Chalukya empire of Pulakesin II declined in course of time. The Chalukyas, the Pallavas, the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pandyas were the rival powers in the south. As the time advanced, there appeared yet other new powers. The Western Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Yadavas of Devagiri, the Hayasalas of Dwarasamudra, the Kakatiyas of Warangal, and many other powers, great and small, covered the history of the south India during the said period. Thus on the eve of the Muslim invasion, the entire sub-continent of India presented an appalling picture—a picture of political and cultural disintegration. It was an India torn and tattered, weak and parochial, without a strong empire or an outstanding personality.

During the closing years of the tenth century, the Ghaznavid rulers of Afghanistan rose into power and prominence. In the ninties of the century, Sabuktagin invaded India. With this, there began a new chapter in the history of India. The process of the Turkish invasion of India began and it was left for the illustrious son of Sabuktagin to shake India at her root.

The first Indian expedition of Mahmud of Ghazna took place in the year 1000 A.D. Almost an unbroken series of devastating expeditions for long twenty-six years ; a round of sieges, assaults and victories; general massacre of the Hindu populations here and there;

demolition of great cities like Thaneshwar, Mathura, Kanauj, and Kalanjar; razing down of a large number of Hindu strongholds and fortresses such as Nagarkot, Nandana, Multan, Bhatinda, Narayanpur, and many others; fanatical destruction of religious shrines, innumerable temples, and images at Thaneshwar, Mathura and Somnath; plunder, loot, and arson in the countrysides of the Land of the Five Rivers and of the Ganga-Jamuna Doab; and all the rest that was done by Sultan Mahmud, violently shook India from the Hindukush to the Ganges. Never before had India been chastised so bitterly, and no invader had written in such red letters a day on her history as had Mahmud. Alexander the Great had come and gone in ages past, without giving the slightest shock to the great Indian empire of the north, and being forgotten all too readily even by that corner of India where the world-conqueror marked his foot print. Innumerable other foreign invasions had marred the peaceful atmosphere of India at different times of her history. But those invasions had been but temporary episodes in the hoary annals of this land. Invasion of Islam was however of a different nature. Mahmud of Ghazna was the real harbinger of Islam into India and the coming of Islam marked a turning point in India's history. In its white heat of fanatical zeal when Islam let loose her entire force on the soil of India, it was not only that the political prestige of India alone had to receive the blows, but that the

blows were also hurled against the very bottom of India's civilisation. The Hindu religion, which was the eternal fountain of the civilisation of India, of her philosophy and culture, art and literature, became the target of Islam. A cold-blooded Islamic fanaticism that could convert the entire humanity of the hither Asia and millions of Europe and Africa into that religion of the desert, wanted to play the same role in case of the mighty millions of India. But Hinduism was too vast, too ancient and too deep-rooted to be upset by mere fanaticism. Islam could not succeed in India as it had done in other parts of the world. Yet, as the pitiless Nemesis of history had stored it for India, a hard struggle was destined to follow between Hinduism and Islam for many centuries to follow ; Mahmud of Ghazna began this process.

Within the quarter-century of his military career in India, Mahmud exposed to the world that the Indian political system was a rotten fabric. The bullet that he shot against the citadel of the Indian civilisation no doubt rebounded and fell back. But his bullet against the Indian political system paralysed it beyond any hope of cure. Sultan Mahmud after his hectic days of plunder and destruction left for Ghazni without annexing the conquered territories of India to his Ghaznavid empire. But even after his departure, the Rajput powers of the north did not unite together to stand against any further invasion. They learnt nothing from the epoch-making expedi-

tions of Mahmud and forgot nothing of their own old dynastic rivalry, local patriotism and parochial struggles. Mahmud did not rule in India but he was undoubtedly the real founder of the Turkish power in this land—the forerunner of Muhammad of Ghor who built his powerful Indian empire one hundred and fifty years after.

One century and a half between Mahmud of Ghazna and Muhammad of Ghor,—yet during such a long period of time Northern India could not reassert and prop up herself for a strong Hindu empire. Northern India, therefore, was destined to come under the Islamic administration, her civilisation was destined to seek some safe shelter far from the on-rush of Islamic impact, her art and architecture were destined to wind up their course in the north and live a new life somewhere else.

In this critical juncture of the history of India, when the north had already been violated and was now getting ready to fall piece by piece before the coming Muhammedan invasion, a great empire builder was laying the foundation of a strong empire in the south extending from the river Godavari to the Ganges. This empire was destined to maintain its power and prestige for long five hundred years to come. The dynasty left by this empire builder was to give birth to a series of strong emperors who successfully maintained the empire, and then the dynasty left the empire peacefully in hands of another

dynasty named as the Surya dynasty when its own course was run. This famous empire-builder in the 12th century was Ananta Varma Chodaganga Dev and the dynasty which he felt was the great Ganga dynasty. The empire of Chodaganga came into existence when the north had proved herself to be utterly incapable of a Hindu empire. The empire that he built and left, was left for the noble purpose of defending the south against the coming invasion of Islam from the north. Within a short time the entire northern India was bound to come under the Muslim conquest, bit by bit from Hindukush to Ganges, but very rapidly and as an inevitable go. In dramatic suddenness was the pressure of Islam bound to seek its way into the south through that gateway between the north and the south—Kalinga. But the empire of Chodaganga stood there as an invincible Hindu Power to check the progress of Islam into the south on the bank of the Ganges. For centuries together, under the Gangas and the Suryas, the empire of Kalinga, built by Chodaganga, struggled against Islam and kept the Turkish power at a respectable distance even when the Turks were at the zenith of their power. During two hundred years of the Turkish Sultanat at Delhi, when the civilisation of the north fell a victim to the ravage of Islam, Kalinga became a new home of the flying civilisation from the north. Hindu art and architecture were ruthlessly destroyed by the Turkish rulers,

Hindu religious practices were proscribed in the Turkish empire, Hindu universities were burnt and education discouraged, Hindu philosophers and intellectuals were dispersed, and an all-round assault was made against the Hindu civilisation itself. During those evil days of Hinduism in the north, Kalinga gave a fostering shelter to the Hindu art and architecture, philosophy, religion and literature and to all the ornaments of the Indian culture that were dispersed due to the vandalism of the Turks in the north. From Bengal in the east and Bihar in the north, the Turkish Sultans of Delhi made many efforts to humble the Hindu empire of Kalinga which defied the might of Islam so successfully. But the empire of Kalinga proved itself too powerful to be conquered by the Turks. In course of time the pressure of the Turkish power became overwhelming towards the south and finally it broke through the Vindhya into the Peninsular India. In the fateful year of 1294, the Turks, under the ambitious Khilji prince Alauddin, burst forth into the south, defeated the ruler of the Yadava kingdom and captured Devagiri. This first Turkish invasion of the Peninsula was a turning point in the history of the South India. From the year 1294 onward, the political influence of Islam began to grow rapidly in the Deccan. Turkish empire was established across the Vindhya. Thus the power of Islam was established throughout the length and breadth of India, in north and south

both, during the Turkish period of her history. Only one empire remained as an exception to this all-India crisis ; it was the empire of Kalinga. Throughout the Turkish age of the Indian history, Kalinga maintained her mighty political existence, extending over a vast territory from the Ganges to the Godavari, and after the downfall of the Turkish empire she continued with her power and pomp till at length the high flood of the Mughal imperialism threatened her separate existence. But it was after a very long period.

Thus, while every part of India had been overrun by Islam, Kalinga remained as a strong and far-flung empire for hundreds of years. She was the last great empire of the Hindu India and was the last piece of land in this sub-continent to give way to the Muslim invaders. During the first half of the Muslim rule in India, Kalinga's role was one of utmost importance and credit. While the Hindu religious sites were desecrated in the north, Kalinga gave a new vigour to her holy centres. While the despoiled Somnath, Mathura or Brindaban ceased to exist as the religious stronghold of Hinduism, Jagannath Puri became the supreme centre of Hindu religion in India. While a mass demolition of Hindu temples was going on in northern India, countless religious monuments were raising their heads in different parts of Kalinga. While the iconoclastic zeal of Islam was wiping out every trace of Hindu architecture from north, the

monumental super-structures of the Hindu architectural genius were raised at Puri and Konarak, such as, the Great Temple of Jagannath and the Black Pagoda. While northern India lay lifeless in agony, life was buzzing in the land of Kalinga. In the grave hours of the Indian history, Kalinga played such an important role, a role that was possible only on the part of a strong, well organised, well administered and vast empire. Such a unique empire the medieval Kalinga had and this empire of the medieval Kalinga was the life-work and the legacy of Ananta Varma Chodaganga Dev.

Ananta Varma belonged to a dynasty known as the Ganga dynasty and this dynasty owes its origin to a very ancient race of India, known as the race of Ganga which inhabited the banks of the river Ganges. Three hundred years before the birth of Christ, when the famous Greek ambassador Megasthenes came to India, he observed the Ganga race and mentioned the name of this race as 'Gangaridae' in his *Indika*. From the accounts of Megasthenes we come to know that the race of Gangaridae inhabited the regions between the Ganges in the north, river Damodar in the south, Magadha in the west, and the sea in the east. When Pliny observed in 72 A.D. this Ganga tribe had gradually moved towards the south and had settled itself down in the central Kalinga on the banks of the river Bansadhara. In course of time the Ganga race broke away into several tribes and

moved to different places. Towards the 5th century A.D. one branch of the Gangas was ruling in the south Mysore. This branch is famous in history as the 'Western Gangas'. Another branch of the same Ganga race, known as the 'Eastern Gangas', established its sway towards the closing years of the fifth century A.D. in the Tri-Kalinga region of Kalinga. From the later part of the fifth century A.D. till the eleventh century the Eastern Gangas ruled in Tri-Kalinga through many political ups and downs. Towards the eleventh century their power began to expand from that part of Kalinga to other parts. The Keshari power was gradually declining in the central Kalinga or Utkal. Taking this opportunity the Gangas came forward to curb out a mighty empire for themselves. It was finally left for Ananta Varma Chodaganga Dev of this dynasty to unite the whole of Kalinga from the river Ganges to the Godavari and raise the citadel of a great imperial fabric—which stood invincible for more than four hundred years.

Ananta Varma was the son of Devendra Varma Rajaraja Dev and his queen Raja Sundari. Like the Gupta emperor Samudragupta who was proud to have been the son of the Lichchhavi princess Kumara Devi, Anantavarma was proud to have been the son of the queen Raja Sundari who was a princess from the great Chola dynasty of the South India. That the Cholas were a very powerful dynasty of the Deccan and that they ruled over far-flung empire in

the south for many centuries are well known to history. Father of Ananta Varma imposed upon the imperial Cholas a matrimonial alliance. In some copper plate inscriptions he is said to have defeated the Chola monarch Rajendra Chola and married the latter's daughter, Raja Sundari. Any way or other, Ananta Varma was proud for his mother who came from an illustrious and far-famed family of the south and proclaimed his Chola relation by styling himself as Cholaganga. Ananta Varma is more famous in history as Cholaganga or Chodaganga, a name that conveyed the meaning of Ananta Varma's proud lineage of having been the son of a Ganga father and a Chola mother.

At the death of Rajaraja Dev, Chodaganga ascended the throne of his dynasty in the ancient Ganga capital of Kalinganagara in the year 1077 or 1078 A.D. This Kalinganagara was not the same city as the Kalinganagara of Kharavela in the vicinity of Bhubaneswar. In different times of her history Kalinga saw her different dynasties naming their capitals as Kalinga-Nagara in different parts of her extensive territory. The name 'Kalinganagara' was a very broad term the meaning of which was 'Capital of Kalinga'. It was not unnatural therefore on part of the different Kalinga dynasties to have named their capitals as Kalinganagara. The early Gangas named their capital as Kalinganagara, and this city has been identified with the modern Mukhalingam in Parla-

kemedi. Chodaganga ruled his empire from that Ganga capital of Kalinganagara from the time of his accession in the year 1077 up till the year 1135 when he transferred his capital to the city of Cuttack where the Keshari emperors had the seat of their authority. From 1135 onward, Cuttack remained the capital of the Ganga dynasty. Chodaganga himself ruled his empire from Cuttack for long twelve years from 1135 to 1147-48, and during these years he completed the work of his empire building. It was from his new capital that Chodaganga gave a final touch to his political and administrative bulwark.

Chodaganga Dev ruled for seventy-two years. Such a long reign of almost three quarters of a century is rare in the annals of kings. For an efficient monarch like Chodaganga such a long period of royal authority was destined to cover itself with far-reaching conquests and administrative reforms. History records innumerable conquerors who conquered but could not rule, and their conquests melted away with their death as they could not give effective administration during their short span of military career, and when they aimed at giving administration after hectic days of militarism, death dropped its icy curtain over their brilliant careers. Chodaganga was perhaps a favoured child of history who conquered and lived long to see his conquests duly organised and efficiently administered.

The conquests of Chodaganga were wide and

extensive. The first great military expedition of this emperor was perhaps led against the powerful contemporary of the south, the Chola king Kulottunga Chola. The war against this Chola rival was mainly due to a clash of ambitions over the kingdom of Vengi. Kulottunga, after he had conquered the Chola kingdom by force, conquered Vengi, where previously a Ganga nominee was ruling. This was perhaps the cause of a war between Kulottunga and Chodaganga. From an inscription of Chodaganga Dev dated the year 1112, we come to know that he defeated the king of Vengi and prior to that incident, he had defeated the Chola king Kulottunga as well. From a plate inscription of 1118 issued by Chodaganga, it is further gathered that Chodaganga restored the fallen king of Vengi on his throne. It is clearly evident that the kingdom of Vengi was first taken out by force from the occupation of Kulottunga and annexed to the empire of Kalinga sometimes about 1112. But later on perhaps the Kalinga statesman thought it prudent to give back Vengi to its defeated owner and keep him as a vassal king. The restoration of Vengi to its original ruler took place before the year 1118, and with the Vengi king as a loyal subordinate in the West, the western frontier of Kalinga now seemed to have been well secured against any foreign disturbance from that quarter.

Sometimes during the early decades of the 12th century Chodaganga launched his simultaneous

attacks on the Utkal portion of Kalinga and on Bengal in the north, and on the Chola-Chalukya territories in the south. In the northern half of Kalinga the later Kesharis were fast declining in their power, and the time was favourable for Chodaganga to defeat them. It is gathered from the plate grants that before the year 1118 Chodaganga defeated the Keshari king of Utkal but again he restored his throne to him as he did in case of the Vengi king. Perhaps Chodaganga thought that the time was not yet ripe to annex Utkal permanently to his empire and he postponed the issue for a later time. The situation in Bengal perhaps drew the attention of the conqueror more than the situation in already defeated kingdom of Utkal. Postponing the annexation of Utkal to his empire of Kalinga, Chodaganga threw his full weight against the king of Gauda or Bengal. Kumara Pala was now the king of Gauda. Unfortunately for this king, soon after his accession, his vassals of Kamarup and Radha raised the standard of revolt and declared their independence. The news of this civil war inside the dominions of the Bengal king should have been received by Chodaganga in great pleasure. To utilise this golden opportunity of internal dissension, Chodaganga invaded Bengal. Perhaps at this time that the rebel king of Radha, Vijay Sen, initiated friendly terms with the Kalinga emperor Chodaganga who was already hanging upon the gates of Bengal with his powerful army. This

helping hand of the rebel vassal of Bengal was certainly an impetus to the invader. Within a short time the army of Chodaganga conquered the Gauda territory as far as its very heart. The newly conquered lands were annexed to the empire of Chodaganga. In course of further conquests in Bengal, the victor proceeded as far as the fortified town of Aramya. This town was completely demolished and the army next proceeded towards the territory of the king of Mandara. The king of Mandara, who had come out from his capital to face the invaders, was badly defeated on the banks of the river Ganges. The invading army marched into the heart of Mandara and captured the fortress of Mandara. This place is now known as Bhitargarh and is situated very near Arambagh in the district of Hooghly in Bengal. With the conquest of Mandara, river Ganges became the northern boundary of the empire of Chodaganga. After consolidating the newly annexed territories, the conqueror returned back. But if the northern boundary of the empire had been fixed and well demarcated, and the northern territories well consolidated, the same thing must have to be done with regard to the southern frontier and southern territories of the empire. After his settlements in Bengal, Chodaganga therefore turned his attention towards his southern frontier where the Chola-Chalukya territory touched Kalinga. In 1118 A.D. had died the Chola king, Kulottunga Chola.

This monarch was once defeated by Chodaganga owing to the complicated issue between the two powers over the kingdom of Vengi. Vengi, as we know, was once conquered and then given back to its original ruler by Chodaganga. The latter perhaps thought that the kingdom of Vengi under its original ruler would remain as a vassal state of Kalinga and would allow no further Chola-Chalukya intrigue into her body politics. But Chodaganga soon realised that his anticipation was not correct. After the death of Kulottunga Chola his son Vikrama Chola became the king of the Chola kingdom. Suspicious of the growing power of Chodaganga in the north, he wanted to keep Vengi under the Chola influence so that Vengi might act as a friendly buffer of the Chola kingdom against Kalinga. Thus Vikrama Chola appointed a Chola nominee to the kingdom of Vengi. A clash at this juncture became inevitable between the Chola nominee and Chodaganga. But before a trial of strength had taken place, the Chola nominee died. With this unexpected death of the Chola nominee, the complication did not come to an end. Before Chodaganga had proceeded for a final amalgamation of Vengi with Kalinga, a new power came from an unexpected corner and conquered that unfortunate country. This power was the Western Chalukyas. The Western Chalukyas were the deadly enemies of the Cholas. When the Chola nominee to the throne of Vengi died, the Western Chalukyan

king Vikramaditya invaded and conquered Vengi. From 1120 to 1125, Vikramaditya ruled over Vengi. During these five years Chodaganga must have looked enviously towards the Chalukya usurper and prepared for a war against him. But before the actual war had taken place, the Chalukya usurper died. Without delaying further, and without giving a chance to another rival to come from the Chola or the Chalukya country to sit on the throne of Vengi, Chodaganga immediately rushed towards his southern frontier, and invaded and conquered Vengi. This time the kingdom of Vengi was completely amalgamated with the empire of Kalinga and there was kept no trace of its identity as a separate state. The modern districts of Vizagapattam and Godavari constituted the-then kingdom of Vengi. With the incorporation of these areas, the river Godavari became the southern boundary of Kalinga. Thus a well situated natural frontier was secured in the south for the empire of Chodaganga, as the river Ganges had been secured to be the natural frontier of the empire's northern extremity. Like the conquered lands in Bengal, the conquered territory of Vengi, too, was well consolidated so that the flanks of the empire should be strong enough to repel the foreign invasions.

After the extremities of the empire had been decided, fixed and consolidated, Chodaganga turned his attention to consolidate the middle portion of Kalinga. The Utkal portion of Kalinga, which was

like the very heart of his empire, had not yet been taken over by the Ganga administration. On a previous occasion the waning lord of Utkal had been defeated but had been restored to his throne. But now the time was ripe for the final amalgamation of Utkal with Kalinga and the extinction of the Keshari power. Near about 1135 Chodaganga conquered Utkal and extinguished the semi-independent status of that land. In 1135 when everything had been completed, the Ganga conqueror thought it wise to remove his capital from Kalinganagara to Cuttack. Cuttack was more strategical a point than the former Ganga capital; it commanded a central situation between the Ganges and the Godavari. Moreover, there was a deep-rooted imperial tradition associated with the name of Cuttack, where, in the hey-day of the Keshari rule the political power of Kalinga had been centred. It was certainly a statesman-like step that Chodaganga took in transferring his capital to Cuttack. From 1135 Cuttack became the capital of the Gangas and came to be called as 'Ganga-Cuttack'. On the northern side of Cuttack, at Chawduar, where one of the early Keshari monarchs had built a city, Chodaganga raised an invincible fortress. Equally, in the southern vicinity of Cuttack, he repaired and enlarged the fortress of Sarangagarh. Thus the capital city of 'Ganga-Cuttack' was secured against any future invasion by two of the strong military cantonments which guarded the capital from either side.

After the northern and southern frontiers of the empire had been well regulated, and the entire empire between the two frontiers had been well consolidated, Chodaganga turned his attention towards the western frontier of Kalinga. The kingdom of Ratnapur was once a part of the empire of Kosala wherefrom came the Keshari kings of Utkal. In course of time the Kosala empire came under the possession of the Kalachuris of Chedi. The Kalachuris made their capital at Tripuri near Jabbalpur. One branch of the Kalachuris, known as the Hayayas, ruled in Ratnapur. When the Kalachuri power declined, these Hayayas began to rule the entire Kosala from their stronghold at Ratnapur. During the rule of the Kesharis in Kalinga there was a constant struggle going on between them and the Hayayas of Kosala. Near the modern Bilaspur, the Keshari kings fought many engagements with the kings of Ratnapur. The rivalry was constant and prolonged, and it continued till the end of the Keshari rule in Utkal. When Chodaganga succeeded to the throne of the Kesharis in Utkal, he thought it to be his legitimate duty to bring the Ratnapur question to a final conclusion. The interior motive of Chodaganga was to annex the territory of Ratnapur to his own empire in order to strengthen his western frontier against any invasion from the central Indian powers. There was always a political and cultural relation between Kosala and Kalinga and to Choda-

ganga it seemed that such a relation should culminate in a political union of both the lands. Ratnapura was thus destined to be conquered by the powerful Ganga emperor for the political union of Kosala and Kalinga. The battle that followed between Chodaganga and the king of Ratnapur was one of the bloodiest battles of the former's reign. At length the lord of Ratnapur was defeated and humbled and his territory was annexed to the empire of the victor. The western limit of Chodaganga's empire now extended as far as Gondwana in the Central Province.

Side by side with his wars and conquests Chodaganga laid out a well-thought-out administrative system throughout the conquered territories. It was mainly for his administrative genius that the empire of Chodaganga lasted for centuries. The Ganga administrative system introduced by this founder-father of greater Kalinga was one of the best examples of the Hindu polity. It may well be compared with those rare administrative systems as to be found in India of the Mauryas, the Imperial Guptas or of Shivaji the Great. During his rule of an unusually prolonged period, Chodaganga had enough of time to make experiments and introduce efficient innovations. Those experiments and innovations, improved upon and modified by other illustrious successors of Chodaganga, continued during the age of the Gangas and of the Suryas. The king was at the head of the administrative machinery, but although the supreme

decision lay with him in all matters, yet he was assisted by a council of ministers which enjoyed a great latitude in advising the king in state matters. Generally the king acted according to the advice of his ministers. It is really a remarkable phenomenon in the Hindu political theory that the Hindu king always paid a due esteem to his ministers who were traditionally aged, experienced and learned. The ministers of the state not only enjoyed the confidence of the king but also a unique regard from the people. From the records of the Ganga age, the number of ministers in the council has so far been found out to be sixteen. Next to the ministers there were the provincial governors. The empire was divided into several provinces, each being governed by such a governor. The Ganga province was called 'Maha-mandala' and the governor as Mahamandalika. Each province was divided into divisions or circles known as Mandala. Each Mandala was governed by a commissioner who was responsible to the provincial governor. Each mandala was again divided into a number of 'Visayas'. These were like the modern districts. The officer in charge of a Visaya was known as 'Visaya-pati' who may be well compared with the modern district Magistrate. Each Visaya in its turn was divided into a large number of 'Gramas' or villages and the leader of a grama was called as Gramika. Gramika was assisted by a number of village officials such as Karanika, Dandapani and

Gramavatta. A Karanika was an accountant, a Dandapani was a police officer, and a Gramavatta was a village watchman. The empire had a large number of well fortified cities and towns, and a number of flourishing ports. Most probably a sort of municipal and police administration was maintained in the Ganga cities. The designations of some of the city officers were Pariksha, Dwara Pariksha and Pratihari. There were a number of central officers who toured the empire and supervised the district administrations. In case of a conflict between two districts on some political or economic issue, there came some special officers to decide the matter. The entire administration was one of vigilance and efficiency.

The Ganga military system was a very successful institution. It was well organised and efficient. The army consisted of both the regulars and irregulars. The king was at the head of the military organisation, the supreme commander of the army. But there was a commander-in-chief to assist him in military matters and to lead wars into foreign fields. There were military officers according to gradation. The designations of several Ganga military officers have come down to us through the Ganga plates and inscriptions, such as, Maha Senapati, Senapati, Maha Pasayati, Pasayati, Dalapati, Nayaka, etc. Besides the land force, Chodaganga maintained a royal navy. At least there is the

evidence of a spectacular naval engagement conducted by the royal navy of Chodaganga in the Ganges.

The ministers at the centre had their designations according to their departmental duties. Some such designations have come down to us. They are 'Mahapatra', 'Patra', 'Amatya', 'Sandhibigraha' etc. In course of time these designations have degenerated into mere titles and we find them widely used in Orissa of today.

The income of the royal exchequer came mainly from the land revenue, customs, fines, mines and forests; the state expenditure was made mostly on military and public works departments. It is evident from the construction of numberless monuments in stone, such as, temples, fortresses, embankments, ramparts, cities, palaces and capitals, that the Ganga exchequer was one of the richest exchequers that India saw in different times of her history. Extensive conquests, well organised administration, and expensive public works, all these proclaim of the abundant wealth which the Ganga kings had at their disposal, and the wealth of the Ganga kings speak ample of the general prosperity of the country.

After Chodaganga had built his empire and had strengthened it by an efficient administration, he turned his attention towards the crowning act of his career. The empire of Chodaganga is no more, neither is there any trace of his military strength; but the great religious monument that he had left behind

him, the monument which not only has defied the destructive role of men and nature and stood to proclaim the greatness of Chodaganga, but which has since then become the centre of the religious and cultural life of this land, is the real and eternal gift of that emperor to Kalinga. By the year 1135, Chodaganga had almost finished the work of his empire building. Major conquests and important wars of the empire had almost been over. In 1135 the emperor had completed the fifty-eighth year of his reign. An old age had already come to him when he should devote himself to religious works. During the remaining twelve years of his life Chodaganga engaged himself in religious works, in erecting shrines and temples, and finally raising the great temple of Jagannath at Puri. The temple of Jagannath was the supreme act of Chodaganga Dev. It started a great religious movement in Kalinga, a movement which was pregnant with great consequences and which ended with the triumph of the Vaishnavism.

Since Yayati Keshari revived Saivism, that cult became the dominating religion in Kalinga. But in course of time the Saivite cult became more and more dogmatic. It became more and more coincidental with the rigid Brahmanical practices and began to drift away from the people. Buddhism or Jainism, over which Saivism had triumphed, was a mass religion in Kalinga when in a new condition. Saivism, in its beginning days, started as a mass religion in

Kalinga because it marked the revival of Hinduism after Buddhism and Jainism had degenerated. But in its advancing years Saivism tended to be a static cult, rigid and conservative, difficult to be understood by the people. A new blood was therefore necessary for Hinduism; the Saivism had to be replaced by a new cult with a broad and liberal fold. Buddhism and Jainism had gone beyond the range of recall. Hinduism, therefore, had to be popularised from within itself. Such a religious movement was left for Chodaganga Dev to champion.

The ancestors of Chodaganga were Saivites. But Chodaganga changed his cult into Vaishnavism. The mission of his life at length became to make Vaishnavism the mass religion of his empire. Vaishnavism was much more liberal than Saivism and was easier, simpler and more attractive. In India at this time, the wind was blowing in favour of a Vaishnavite movement. Vaishnavism was no doubt as ancient as the conception of Vishnu. But it was only in the medieval India that this cult dominated the mind of the mass. While Chodaganga was busy in his political achievements, a great religious preacher was busy in the length and breadth of India in propounding the cult of Vaishnavism. Ramanuja, the greatest Vaishnava of his age, came to Kalinga sometimes between 1122 and 1137. It is said that the Kalinga emperor became moved to hear the preachings of that great preacher. Vaishnavism recieved a unique encourage-

ment and Chodaganga became its exponent in Kalinga. Temples of Vishnu were built at Mukhalingam, Sri Kurmam and Simbachalam, and in course of time grounds were prepared to make Puri one of the greatest centres of Vaishnavism in India. Chodaganga began the construction of the Great Temple of Jagannath at Puri. No doubt Jagannath was there at Puri since time immemorial and that His temple was in existence from ages behind. But if Jagannath came to be worshipped as the Supreme Deity of Hindu India and His shrine as the holiest abode of Hinduism, it was mainly due to the work of Chodaganga. It was about the time of Chodaganga that Jagannath definitely came to be regarded as the veritable incarnation of Vishnu. The Great Temple, erected for Jagannath, came to be regarded as an abode of Vaishnavism. Thus Vaishnavism centred around the cult of Jagannath, and the cult of Jagannath, patronised and championed by Chodaganga Dev, became the mass religion in Kalinga. Most probably sometimes after 1135, Chodaganga began the building of the Puri temple. Though it could not be completed during the remaining twelve years of his reign, yet the work was carried to a considerable proportion under his forceful guidance. The importance of Jagannath began to grow immensely and rapidly from the time of Chodaganga. The temple was left to be completed by his worthy descendant Anangavima Dev, but Chodaganga had had the satisfaction

to see before his death that his people had been given a great religious vigour, that the mass had embraced a popular cult, and that Jagannath Puri had become the very core of the nation's religion and culture. The religious movement started by Chodaganga never died out in this land. Vaishnavism manifesting itself through the worship of Jagannath received more and more encouragement from the illustrious Ganga and Surya emperors who succeeded to the throne of Chodaganga. The cult of Jagannath so successfully championed by Chodaganga is yet the mass religion of Orissa. Jagannath embodies in Himself the religion of this land and His Temple stands as the symbol of Kalinga's national unity. Thus, Chodaganga Dev through his religious initiatives bound the people of Kalinga in a bond of cultural and religious sameness. Eventually he was not only an empire builder, but also the maker of a great nation.

From all points of view the reign of Chodaganga marks a very remarkable epoch in the history of Kalinga. At a critical time in the annals of India he built a strong and extensive empire. For the evil days that were to overcome the civilisation of the Hindus he left a strong Hindu power in the south to champion the same. Kalinga was fortunate to have been ruled by Chodaganga for seventy-two years and, more so, to have received a long dynasty of successful sovereigns from him. The empire that Chodaganga built lasted for hundreds of years and was the last kingdom in

India to have succumbed to an alien power. The cultural role played by the Kalinga of Chodaganga was a revolution by itself. It revolutionised Hinduism for a new strength and vigour. The growing rigidity and seclusion of Brahmanism were challenged and the religion was carried from the monopoly of the classes to the arm of the masses. The Hindu liberalism sponsored from Jagannath Puri, first by Chodaganga and then by his successors, was a right movement at a right time when it was so dearly required by India. It was just in the fitness of things that Chodaganga Dev built the empire of Kalinga and re-oriented her religion.

GANGA AGE, THE GOLDEN AGE

Those broad factors of history which operated in India during the age of the Imperial Guptas to make it the Golden Age of the Indian history, operated in Kalinga during the age of the great Gangas to make it the Golden Age of the history of Kalinga. What the Gupta Age is in the annals of India, the Ganga Age is in the annals of Kalinga. A well-founded empire and a number of powerful rulers, internal peace and security against foreign invasions, benevolent administration and state patronisation of art and literature, contact with the outside world and import of new ideas, all these important factors which make an age great, operated successfully during the three hundred and fifty years of the Ganga rule. From the time of Anantavarma Chodaganga Dev, who built the empire of united Kalinga, till the time of Bhanu Dev IV with whom ended the Ganga dynasty, there ruled not less than fifteen kings of whom at least three—Chodaganga, Anangabhimha II and Narasinha I—were men of exceptional ability, and all the rest were powerful enough to protect the extensive empire of Chodaganga from grave foreign invasions. After three hundred and fifty years of glorious rule the Ganga dynasty did not throw its empire into dissolution and chaos but bequeathed it

peacefully into the hands of another remarkable dynasty, the dynasty of the Suryas, with everything of the empire intact. Chodaganga Dev built his empire and gave it two natural frontiers in the Ganges and the Godavari. But the military might of some of his successors was too overwhelming to obey the limit. As for instance, the conquest of the Muslim territories of Bengal by Narasinha Dev I. Narasinha Dev ruled Kalinga from 1238 to 1264. His predecessor, Anangabhima Dev III, had already defeated the Sultan of Bengal, Ghyasuddin Khilji. But Narasinha Dev was bent upon annexing some territories of the Muslim occupied Bengal to his own empire. From the description of the Muslim historian Minhaj-us-Shiraj in his *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* we get the account that in 1243 Narasinha Dev defeated the Muslim army at Katsin and invaded Lukhnor and Lakhnauti. The then Sultan of Bengal, Tughan Khan, fled away in fear of his life and appealed to the emperor of Delhi for help. In 1244 Narasinha again invaded Bengal and plundered the capital, Lukhnauti. Tughan Khan, after he had gathered strength, faced the enemy in open field, but was badly defeated. The city of Lukhnor was captured and plundered. The whole of Gauda was besieged by the army of Narasinha. The net outcome of Narasinha's Bengal expedition was that several Muslim districts of that land were annexed to the empire of Kalinga. Besides Narasinha, some other rulers of

the Ganga dynasty came very often into aggressive collision with the southern and northern powers beyond the extremities of Kalinga. The Ganga militarism, bequeathed by that dynasty to the Suryas, was so powerful that it enabled the Surya monarchs to lead their expeditions far into the Muslim provinces of Malwa and Bengal in one hand and into the heart of the Hindu Kingdoms of Kanchi, Vijaynagar, and Karnat on the other and to annex many parts of the said kingdoms and also some parts of the powerful Bahmani kingdom with Kalinga. The Ganga military organisation was one of the best of its time and was very helpful to preserve the empire from falling into internal chaos and external invasion. While the kings were above the ordinary standard, and some were extremely powerful, and their military system was very efficient, the country in general breathed an atmosphere of peace. People were confident of the greatness of their empire and of the security to their peace. The emperors of the Ganga Dynasty were a set of benevolent rulers whose administration was as mild as the Gupta administration. The power and benevolence, combined together, rendered the Ganga administration to be one of the best administrations that Kalinga ever enjoyed.

But the glory of the Gangas remains not with the extent of their empire or efficiency of their administration alone, but more with the civilisation of their age. The Ganga age in Kalinga synchronised

with the Muslim invasion of India and establishment of the Muslim empires in the north and the south. Advent of Islam not only took away the independence of India but also caused her civilisation to be greatly endangered. During this historic revolution in India, Kalinga of the Gangas served the purpose of a conservatory for the religion, art, and culture of the Hindus. From the last decade of the twelfth century when Muhammad of Ghor laid the foundation of a permanent Turkish empire in India to the first decade of the 18th century when the last of the Great Mughals Aurangazeb breathed his last, these five hundred years may exclusively be regarded as the Muslim period of the Indian history. This broad period of five centuries may be divided into three parts. The first period constitutes the two hundred years between the occupation of Delhi in 1193 by the army of Ghori and the sack of the same metropolis by Amir Timur in 1399 A.D. This period of two centuries was a period of conversion and destruction when Islam exhibited its youthful frenzy of fanaticism and bloodshed. The Turks in the tradition of Mahmud of Ghazna tolerated neither the Hindu art nor the religion. Their's was an attempt, rather a desperate endeavour to convert this *dar-ul-harb* into a *dar-ul-Islam*. For two hundred years India saw this painful revolution both in her northern half and the southern. When this period was over with the invasion of Timur and the downfall of the Turkish

Sultanat, there began the second stage in the career of Islam. During this period of one century and a quarter, Islam played a very weak role. The Sayyids and the Lodis at the centre were degenerated successors to the throne of Iltutmis, Balban and Alauddin Khilji. Islam had already been tired with its destructive role and had realised at length with pain that a wholesale conversion of the Hindus was an utter impossibility. During this timid age, India saw a great religious movement, a reaction against intolerance. It was essentially a period of Hindu-Muslim unity championed by some great preachers of Medieval India. From 1526 to 1707, it was the final chapter in the Muslim period of Indian history. The Great Mughals, true to the blood of Chengiz Khan who though a scourge of Asia was liberal to all the religions, encouraged unity among the Hindus and Muslims. The age of the Great Mughals was more of a period of construction rather than of destruction. The Great Mughals were conspicuous by their breadth of vision and nationalistic attitude and their age may be called an age of Islamic liberalism. Out of the three above described periods, the first period was the most critical one in the history of India and this age was contemporaneous with the age of the Gangas in Kalinga. New on the soil of India, Islam during this age showed an unprecedented type of intolerance towards everything that was Hindu. It was during this period that Ghoris and Iltutmish demolished the Qila-

i-Rai Pithaura in Delhi where the traditional Indra-prastha of the Hindu India had its site. From Delhi, the arms of Islam spread rapidly towards other corners of India. In wake of the Muslim army religious persecution followed. While Muhammad Ghori and Qutbuddin were busy in the conquest of Baran, Meerut, Delhi, Kol, Asni, Benares, Kanauj, Etah, Bayana, Ajmere, Gwalior, Anhilwara, Kalinjar, Mahoba, and other places in the north, and in the destruction of the rich cities of the said places, one of the Ghori generals named Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtyar Khilji was carrying fire and sword into Bihar and Bengal. Hindu educational institutions were ravaged and libraries were burnt by this general ruthlessly. His sack of Bihar has been well described by the contemporary Muslim historian. "The great number of the inhabitants of that place were Brahmans, and the whole of those Brahmans had their heads shaven, and they were all slain. There was a good number of books there, and when all these books came under the observation of the Musalmans, they summoned a number of Hindus, that they might give them information respecting the import of those books ; but the whole of the Hindus had been killed. On becoming acquainted, it was found that the whole of the fortress and city was a College, and in the Hindi tongue they call a College Bihar." Like that celebrated Khalifa who burnt the great library of Alexandria on the plea that if the

books in the library agree with Quran they need not exist and if do not agree they must perish, Bakhtyar and his compatriots must have burnt to ashes many such libraries and colleges as was done at Bihar where the preciousmost literature of Jainistic, Buddhist and Hindu philosophy and science was preserved since an immemorial past. In the entire Aryavarta the Hindu religious architecture was buried beneath the heaps of ruin and out of those heaps rose the mosques for the Faithful. Soon after these acts had been completed in the north, the energy of Islam moved into the south. In 1294 A.D., Alauddin Khilji entered into the Deccan, plundered the city of Devgiri, and with an immense amount of gold, silver and pearls, returned back. Once the road was open towards the south, the process of further invasions began. Malik Kafur ravaged the south and plundered the cities of Warangal, Dwarasamudra and Madura. Religious shrines in the south were desecrated by that renegade. Kafur advanced as far as Rameswaram and destroyed that holiest city of Dakshinatyā. The great temple of Rameswaram was razed to the ground and a mosque was built at its site. Repeated invasions were to follow and in course of time almost the whole of the southern India was brought under the Turkish administration. Thus at a period when an alien rule was in process of its establishment on the soil of India both in north and south, and at a time when the Hindu civilisation had fallen into her evil days, the

Gangas were ruling in their independent empire of Kalinga. Accidental it was that the Ganga age in Kalinga was coincidental with the first stage of the Muslim rule in India, but because of this coincidence, Kalinga was called upon to play an important role in the general history of India. Politically Kalinga maintained her independent existence throughout the Sultanate period and beyond. Culturally she was to harbour the fleeing culture and art from other parts of India. Religiously she was to champion the movement of a liberal Hinduism and to popularise the cult of Vishnu among the classes and the masses so that a Hindu revival would save India from mass conversion. In a critical hour of India Kalinga had to shoulder a great responsibility. Fortunately for India, the Gangas proved themselves to be capable of safeguarding the Hindu culture, art and architecture, religion and literature from the onslaughts of the Muhammedans within the sphere of Kalinga. The first period of the Muslim rule in India was a period of forcible conversion, but the Gangas successfully maintained the independence of their empire during that period and by doing so they saved the masses of Kalinga from conversion into Islam. If the Muslims form only one percent of the population of the modern Orissa, whereas in other provinces of India their percentage is higher and in some parts it is abnormally high, it is due to the independent Ganga rule in Kalinga at a time when the rest of India was under

the influence of Islam and while Islam was bent upon converting the infidels. In the long run, long after the Ganga age, when Orissa was partially conquered by the Karranis of Bengal and then by the Hindu generals of Akbar, Raja Todarmal and Mansing, Islam had long given up its zeal to convert, and as a result, though Orissa remained for a period under the Mughal administration, she did not suffer from any forcible attempt on part of Islam to convert her Hindu population. Thus Kalinga was fortunate to have escaped the early rule of Islam which was more or less tasted by almost every other part of India. Such an escape was possible for the strong protection given by the Ganga emperors to Kalinga. The ancient culture of Kalinga could not be violated by the storm that was blowing outside that empire. It is a remarkable thing even today that of all the provinces in India it is in Orissa that the influence of the Islamic civilisation on that of the Hindu is the least, almost nil.

Kalinga had always attracted the prophets and preachers of India onto her sacred soil. More did she do so during the age of the Imperial Gangas. When Anantavarma Chodaganga Dev was reviving Hinduism in Kalinga with a new vigour, the greatest Vaishnavite sage of the time, Ramanuja, visited Kalinga to preach Vaishnavism. The preacher was cordially received by the emperor and was allowed to preach his doctrine. It is said that Ramanuja's

discourses on the Vedanta were highly appreciated by the learned emperor. Ramanuja was allowed to build two monasteries at Puri, one of them being the famous Emar Math of today. Perhaps Ramanuja conducted a religious tour in Kalinga and preached his gospels in many places. The Alalnath temple at Brahmagiri was perhaps built after the name of this last of the Alwars. Staying for a period in Kalinga, Ramanuja left for the south, but his followers remained in the monasteries of their master to carry on the missionary work. Ramanuja came in the first half of the 12th century. In the second half of the same century Kalinga was flooded with the melody of another great sage, Jaydev. Whether Jaydev was a native of this land or he came from outside is yet a matter of controversy among the Indian scholars. Proofs are gradually becoming stronger that Jaydev was a native of Kalinga. But suggestions are not lacking that he came from the court of the Bengal king, Lakshman Sena, when that king was defeated by the Muhammedan invaders and his court scholars were dispersed. Whatever it might have been, the works for which Jaydev is immortal in the religious history of India were done on the sacred shore of Jagannath Puri. The love lyrics on Radha and Krishna with which Jaydev flooded India, were all composed at Puri during the many years stay of the poet in that holy city of Jagannath. The lyrics of Jaydev represent the serene sweetness of a peaceful

time, a time that was enjoyed by Kalinga under the Ganga arm. It was through the vehicle of melodious songs that Vaishnavism reached the masses and captivated them. Jaydev was one of the greatest Vaishnavite preachers who made Vaishnavism a popular cult in Kalinga. His lyrics form a classic by themselves and are the sweetest ones among the Vaishnavite literature. Even today the songs of Jaydev are sung almost in every corner of India and his name resounds in all the religious centres. The 'Life of Jaydev' abounds with praises of his Ganga patron at Puri. It is evident from the Vaishnavite accounts that the king was a highly cultured man, a great Vaishnava by himself, and patronised the sagely poet Jaydev to the best of the latter's comfort. It was for the virtue of a religious place like that of Puri, and for the virtue of an age like that of the Ganga age that the genius of Jaydev could exert itself. He was one of the best representatives of the Ganga civilisation ; a poet and a philosopher of the highest rank, he was a bright luminary of the Ganga epoch.

In the 13th century the history of Kalinga was crowded upon by a large number of preachers who were attracted to the religious centres of this land from different parts of India. All those religious preachers were cordially received and liberally patronised by their contemporary Ganga rulers. During this century there were also born some of the most famous philosophers of Kalinga who under the bene-

volent patronisation of their cultured monarchs played a very important role in the religious history of this land. Among the preachers who came from outside Narasinha Muni, Narahari Tirtha, Jagannath Tirtha, Narasinha Yati and Basudev Yati were famous. Narasinha Mahamuni was a disciple of Madhwacharya and he preached the dualistic theory of Vaishnavism in Kalinga. Narahari Tirtha, another Vaishnavite preacher, came and spent many years in Kalinga. He toured the whole land for his missionary activity and even became a legal and religious adviser to the king for sometime. The most important of the religious preachers born in Kalinga during this period were Sri Sridhar Swami and Sri Lakshmidhara. Sridhar Swami was one of the greatest Vaishnavas of India of his time and his 'Vabārtha Dipika' is one of his best contributions to the Vaishnavite literature. Lakshmidhara wrote a treatise named 'Srinam Kaumudi'. These two Vaishnavas resided at Puri and devoted themselves to the preaching of their cult. In the 14th century, Narasingha Bharati, Basudev Bharati and Raghava preached Vaishnavism in Kalinga. The works of all these preachers and of many others made Kalinga and her holy cities the strongholds of Vaishnavism which was then the most liberal and popular cult of Hinduism. Gradually the grounds were prepared for the coming of Sri Chaitanya to Puri during the time of the Surya emperor, Prataprudra.

The Ganga age was not only crowded with the names of the preachers and philosophers, but also with the names of the learned poets and authors, great scientists and scholars. A contemporary of Chodaganga Dev was Satyananda who wrote a very scholarly and original book on astronomy known as 'Surya-Siddhanta'. This great astronomer was living in Puri and his researches advanced the science of astronomy in this land to a great extent. The court of Ananga Vima Deva was adorned by a large number of renowned scholars. The king himself was well-versed in Vedas, Nyaya Sastra, Puranas, and patronised the wise and the learned of his time. Pandit Bhashkar, Govinda Pattayotish, Paramhansa Bajpayi and Damodar Badapanda were a few of the many who played a great part in the cultural activities of the Ganga age. Like that learned compositor of the Allahabad Prasasti, Harisena, Pandit Bhashkar was the author of the famous inscription at Chateswar. Like the illustrious Harisena, describing the achievements of Samudragupta on the surface of stone in an elegant and beautiful style, Pandit Bhashkar described some events of the reign of Anangabhima in his prasasti. Govinda Patta Yotish was the prime minister of the state, yet, though busy in his political duties, the prime minister proved himself to be one of the most learned pandits of his time. Paramhansa Bajpayi was the celebrated engineer of the age in whose hands was vested the completion of the great

temple of Jagannath, the construction of which had begun since the time of Chodaganga. After Bajpayi had shown his engineering skill, he was called upon by the king to codify a sound temple administration. In the court of Narasinha Dev I, there flourished two famous scholars of Sanskrit literature, Pandit Vidyadhara and Vishwanath Kaviratna. Vidyadhara compiled a Sanskrit grammar named as 'Ekabali'. The 'Sahitya Darpana' of Vishwanath Kaviratna happens to be a very important contribution to the Sanskrit literature. From many of the Ganga copper inscriptions we come to know that the Ganga rulers, invariably all of them, were patrons of learning, and maintained highly cultured courts.

The most far-reaching fame of the Ganga age rests in the patronisation of a superb type of art and architecture by the Ganga monarchs. With the decline of the Keshari power in Kalinga the art and architecture of that land suffered a set-back for a full century. The whole of the eleventh century was a barren age in the field of the Kalingan art and architecture. But with the rise of the Ganga empire, the art and architecture received a new impetus. In the first half of the 12th century the construction of the temple of Jagannath at Puri began. A new vigour that was given to Hinduism in Kalinga by the founder-father of the Ganga empire, as if, was embodied in the temple of Jagannath. A huge and massive structure in stone, as great as the temple of

Lingaraj at Bhubaneswar, was raised at Puri. For its romantic situation, the city of Puri, with the temple of Jagannath at its centre, became the religious metropolis of Kalinga and of India. The sculptural art which was so lavishly displayed on the walls of innumerable small and big temples at Puri, prove it beyond doubt that the Ganga art was one of the best examples of the Indian art of all times. Simultaneously, when the temple of Jagannath was under construction, architectural creations were made in other parts of the Ganga territory. The temple of Rajarani at Bhubaneswar belongs to the age of the temple of Jagannath. If the Kalingan architects and sculptors exhibited their supreme engineering skill on the monumental body of the temple of Jagannath—the skill of erecting a gigantic fabric in an age that was medieval and when there were no scientific implements to raise huge pieces of stones to the height of sky,—they exhibited their fine hand in artistic needle work on the hard surface of stone in the temple of Rajarani. The temple of Rajarani, though not a huge creation, yet happens to be one of the beauty queens of the Kalingan architecture. During the closing years of the 12th century, the temple of Megheswar was built by Rajaraja in Bhubaneswar. This temple was built in the pattern of the Lingaraj temple though in a miniature scale. Almost at the same time the ‘Bhogamandap’ in the temple of Lingaraj was built at Bhubaneswar and the temple of

Pataleswar was built at Puri near the temple of Jagannath. These two were the works of Anangavima Dev. Some more temples of architectural importance were built during the 12th century at Bhubaneswar and Puri by the Ganga kings and by their relations. They stand amid the countless temples of Puri and Bhubaneswar either in ruin or intact.

In the 13th century the Ganga architecture reached its zenith. Narasinha Dev, one of the most famous and powerful monarchs of the Ganga dynasty, ascended the throne in the year 1238, and ruled till the year 1264. Besides many of his monuments at Bhubaneswar and other parts of the empire, the supreme monument of his reign was erected on the bank of the river Chandrabhaga where that river met the sea. This was the Sun Temple of Konarak. The Konarak is to the Hindu architecture what the Taj is to the Indo-Saracenic. There is no other temple like the temple of Konarak in the entire range of Hindu architecture. All forms of Hindu edifice take an inferior place when compared with this architectural masterpiece. Konarak stands over the sandy vastness of Kalinga's sea shore, looking towards the vast watermass and commanding in itself a spiritual dignity. This magnificent edifice is emblematic of a wonderful wealth that Kalinga possessed and the unique power that Narasinha Dev enjoyed. At the same time it is the embodiment of the supreme artistic, architectural, sculptural, and engineering skill

that the Kalingans possessed. Twelve hundred architects working for long sixteen years built Konarak. The exchequer of Narasinha spent the state revenue of twelve years amounting to not less than forty crores. The original temple was 230 feet high, the biggest temple in the whole of India. Even the crownless Mukhasala which stands today ranks equal with the Great Temple of Bhubaneswar in height, and is far superior in art to any other temple of Kalinga. The construction of Konarka was a wonder by itself. There were stone pieces in the body of the temple, so huge and at such heights, that they put modern men to shame. A single image of a lion sitting on an elephant weighed 130 maunds and was placed at a height of 170 feet on the wall of the temple. Another piece of stone that contained the images of the Nabagraha weighed 740 maunds. A single piece of stone that was placed on the top of the temple at a height of 200 feet like a crown weighed approximately fifty-six thousand maunds. All these sound astronomical, but they were the real feats of the Kalingan architects. Today standing in the midst of a melancholy grandeur the remains of Konarka resemble the work of the Titan rather than of men. The Konarka Mukhasala, with its majestic triangular mass, with its finely adjusted bulk and with its prodigal luxuriance of art and decoration, stands unrivalled in India. Here on the walls of Konarka has been displayed a rare craftsmanship of

the Kalinga sculptors, here has been exhibited the sumptuous and refined art of the Kalinga artists, and here is to be found the crowning glory of the Kalingan architects. From all points of view, for artistic splendour, dignified structure, jewellery like ornamentation, delicacy of treatment, and architectural composition, Konarka is a type by itself. Undoubted as it is, it was for Konarak that the Kalingan architecture enjoyed its golden age during the time of Narasinha Dev.

After Konarka, however, all of a sudden the architectural activity in Kalinga came to an end, as after Taj Mahal, the Indo-Islamic building art breathed its last. Konarka was the greatest achievement but it was the last. With Narasinha Dev the Ganga dynasty did not come to an end, neither did Kalinga lose her independence with the end of the Ganga rule. Yet, after Konarka no remarkable edifice was built in Kalinga, not even of a moderate standard. For some reason or other the spirit of architecture bade good bye to Kalinga after it had erected a Konarka, even though for more than three hundred years the Kalingan empire enjoyed prosperity.

Even though the Kalingan architecture suffered from a sudden decline after Narasinha Dev, yet, during the Ganga rule from Chodaganga to Narasinha, the building art had endured its golden age. Since the foundation of the temple of Jagannath was laid at Puri till the finishing touch was given to the

Sun Temple at Konarak, the art and architecture in this land ran a full and glorious course. The unceasing and strenuous constructive activity of Anantavarma, Ananga Vima, Narasinha and some other monarchs of the Ganga royal family resulted in the creation of some peerless monuments in stone of which India is really proud. The Ganga architecture is the best representative of an age that enjoyed peace and prosperity. People had enough of time to indulge in art ; the kings had enough of wealth to patronise that expensive craft. The stern and stupendous fabric of the temple of Jagannath symbolised in itself the religious vigour of Hinduism. The temple of Rajarani at Bhubaneswar is a concrete expression of the Hindu aptitude for a decorative grandeur. The temple of Konarka, enriched with countless images and idols, is the veritable depository of Hindu epics and mythology, religious philosophy and mysterious imagination. The civilisation of India owes a great deal to the indefatigable Ganga builders who preserved in stone a world of Hindu spiritual aestheticism.

The science during the Ganga age was one that of a very high standard. The science of metallurgy, as to be found today in the ruins of Konarka, is a challenge to the modern metallurgical experiments. In the thirteenth century Kalinga, the iron industries of this land could manufacture huge iron beams, as huge as 36 feet in length. What is more wonderful, the scientists of Kalinga knew how to preserve the

iron against rusting through some successful chemical appliances. The iron beams at Konarak, lying there for centuries, exposed to the salty water of sea, rain and wind, do not get rusted. The ruins of the Ganga monuments amply prove that there existed huge iron industries in different parts of Kalinga. The art of mining was highly developed. There were iron, coal, silver, gold and diamond mines in different parts of the Ganga empire. On the whole the industrial life in the Ganga age was based on a highly scientific standard and it was very prosperous.

The commercial relation of the Ganga empire with the rest of India and also with the overseas lands was in a very thriving and prosperous condition. Though by the time of the Gangas the Kalingans had already lost their political hold over the Malayasian islands, yet the commercial contact with that part of the world was still intact. It was only towards the closing days of the Ganga rule that Kalinga lost her naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean. But for the most part of the Ganga age the maritime activity and overseas trade of Kalinga remained prosperous. Kalinga continued to export her iron products, silver, gold and diamond ornaments, fine cloth, stone and wooden engravings, copper and brass articles, various types of cereals, barley, wheat and rice, and many other commodities to outside. Foreign travellers to India during this age observed the export of the said products in shiploads from the ports of Kalinga.

Inside India the trade of Kalinga was equally successful. A flourishing trade guaranteed a sound economy to the people, and this sound economy was one of the main-springs of the Ganga prosperity.

It was during this age that the Oriya literature took its concrete and enriched shape. Since a long past the literature was in its process of evolution. From Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali and also from Dravidian sources, the Oriya literature and language were in the making, long before the Gangas came to power. But with the creation of a national empire by the powerful Gangas and with their patronisation of a national tongue and literature in Kalinga, the 'Oriya' began to grow by leaps and bounds. We find a refined and clear type of Oriya in the inscriptions of the 13th century Kalinga issued by the Ganga emperors from different parts of their kingdom. These inscriptions contain an attractive prose style and they show a gradual development in the language towards a perfection. It is maintained by some scholars that Oriya was the most ancient of all the provincial languages as the former came into being in the 13th century at which time in no other province of India there was the existence of such a provincial language. Whatever it might have been, it was during the Ganga age that the Oriya language received its modern shape. An age of unbroken peace and prosperity for long three hundred years was enough for the development of a provincial

literature. From the beginning of the 12th century to the end of the 14th century, this was the period when inside a well-defined national territory, a new language and literature were created. The Ganga monarchs, as we have already seen, were highly cultured. Many of them were themselves poets. Invariably all of them patronised learning. Their courts were always full with the wise and the learned. It was only natural with their age that within their national empire, a great impetus was given to the growth of Oriya for their people. Oriya script, Oriya grammar, Oriya idioms and phraseologies, Oriya poetic dictions and prose styles, were all given their clear shape during the Ganga age. Many valuable books, in prose and poetry, were written during this period. It is doubtless that the literature had already attained a very matured stage when the Gangas ended their age and left their empire in hands of the Suryas. Because, soon after the Ganga age we find the best luminaries of the Oriya literature crowding upon the pages of Orissa history. The age that immediately followed the Ganga age saw men like Markanda Das, Sarala Das, Chaitanya Das, Balaram Das, Jagannath Das, and Achyutananda Das, in the field of Oriya literature. These were the men who may be regarded as the real fathers of the modern Oriya literature. Their works were simply innumerable and stupendous. But the ground was prepared for the work of these master minds of the Oriya literature during the

time of the Gangas. When the literature had been created and made perfect during the long period of the Ganga national monarchy, it was then the time for the golden age of the Oriya literature in the Oriya speaking land.

Side by side with the growth of Oriya in the Ganga age, the Sanskrit was enduring a very splendid course in this land. The Ganga court amply patronised Sanskrit. Great Indian scholars who were attracted to the Ganga court influenced Kalinga with Sanskrit. Even many scholars of Kalinga proved themselves to have been vastly learned in Sanskrit and some of them left some invaluable contributions in that literature. Perhaps never again Sanskrit enjoyed so much of prestige in Kalinga and received so much of attention from her monarchs as during the Ganga period.

With the rapid growth of a provincial literature the path was paved for a mass education in Kalinga. General happiness in the country was conducive for such an education. The great religious upheaval that was going on in Kalinga all throughout the Ganga age was yet another great factor in advancing the mass education and consciousness. The Vaishnavite Bhaktas who carried on their missionary works in Kalinga popularised the literature through their songs and preachings. Countless Oriya books, both in prose and poetry, which were worked out during the Ganga time, led the people a great way ahead in their learning. A people that enjoyed a national home was now

given a common education through a common language and literature. The Ganga courts, both central and provincial, innumerable religious centres and temples, numberless monasteries in the land, and besides all these, the schools and colleges of that time under the guidance of learned scholars, were the true sources of the Ganga education. It was the Ganga education which laid the solid foundation of the intellectual and cultural life of the future Oriya nation.

From all points of view the Ganga age is singled out in the annals of Kalinga history as the most prosperous, enlightened and cultured age. It was an age that overflowed with life and wealth. The culture of the modern Orissa, in all its aspects, is a heritage from the time of the Imperial Gangas.

THE SURYA RULE AND THEN

The Imperial Ganga dynasty closed its reign in Kalinga abruptly. The Later Gangas were not as powerful as the Great Gangas. But they, some how or other, maintained the empire of Chodaganga, Anangavima and Narasinha. Yet, during the later days of the Ganga rule, dangerous foreign invasions had threatened Kalinga. The Muslim Sultanat of Bengal from the east, the Bahamani kingdom from the south-west, and the rising Hindu empire of Vijayanagar from the south, aimed their blows against the independent existence of Kalinga. The Later Gangas, though were able to preserve their empire, were not sufficiently strong enough to guarantee a powerful existence to it against the rising menaces from outside. It was quite likely that the Ganga power, as if tired after an age of extreme activity, would have thrown the empire into dissolution, should it have been allowed to continue for sometime more. But in the fitness of incidents, before the Ganga empire had gone down to pieces, the power was transferred from the hands of the Gangas to the hands of another set of emperors belonging to a new dynasty known as the Surya Vamsa. This new dynasty gave Kalinga three illustrious emperors, Kapilendra, Purushottam and Prataprudra. It was almost a bloodless revolution

that extinguished the Ganga dynasty and established that of the Surya. According to the accounts preserved in the Madala Panji, the last Ganga was childless and he adopted a very poor cowherd boy as his son who inherited the Ganga throne as the first Surya emperor. The name of this boy was Kapila, who became famous in history as Kapilendra Dev. According to Stirling who maintains the above said view, the founder of the Surya dynasty was an adopted son of the last Ganga. From the legends of Orissa we get the same account that Kapilendra Dev was originally a cowherd boy and was selected by the childless Ganga king to be his successor. But according to one of the informations preserved in the 18th century literature, Kapilendra Dev usurped the throne when the Ganga king was absent from his capital on account of an expedition into some distant land. There is yet another tradition that Kapilendra was a minister of the last Ganga emperor and taking the opportunity of latter's weakness and incompetency, he captured the throne. But the most important and reliable information regarding the dynastic revolution which ended the Ganga dynasty and placed that of the Surya on the throne of Kalinga is to be found in a work named 'Bhakti Bhagabat' which was written by a very learned Bhakta named Jivadev during the time of the third Surya emperor, Pratap-rudra. According to this account the last Ganga king was an unworthy successor to the throne of his great

predecessors. He was a debauch and was wicked. When this king breathed his last, the wise and the respectable men of the empire caused a new dynasty to be set up on the throne of Kalinga known as the Surya dynasty. Some modern scholars, in due consideration of the facts and informations received so far, hold the view that Kapilendra was the minister of the last Ganga king who was an incompetent man. The situation in that critical time of foreign invasions required a strong man at the helm of affairs, whereas, the Gangas had already declined and their family was unable to produce a very able man. So the nobles and the ministers of the Ganga empire in one voice elected Kapilendra to become the emperor as Kapilendra had already manifested his genius as a minister, a general, and as a very efficient leader of men while in the Ganga imperial service. The election of Kapilendra to the throne of the Gangas took place very probably after the death of the last Ganga king who again by the chance of history was a childless man. Thus Kapilendra ascended the throne and founded a new dynasty of his own. Any way or other, either being elected by the Ganga ministers or being adopted by the Ganga king as his son, Kapilendra effected a peaceful and bloodless dynastic revolution, and this dynastic revolution prolonged the life of the Ganga empire for a hundred years more and gave a new vigour to the national life of Kalinga. During the first sixty years of this century the political glory

and the national culture of the empire reached their climax and during the next forty years there set in the obvious decline and grounds were prepared for the final downfall of the Kalingan empire.

Kapilendra Dev, the founder of the Surya dynasty in Kalinga, ascended the throne in the year 1436 A.D. A born leader of men, he justified his accession by a remarkable reign of thirty years, a reign that was one of the most successful reigns of the Kalinga history. Kapilendra took over the charge of an empire which was rapidly decaying, but by the dint of his extraordinary valour, he succeeded in propping up that decaying structure. In a very dark hour of the Kalinga history when the independence of Kalinga was ruthlessly challenged from the powerful quarters of the Bengal Sultanat, Bahamani kingdom, and Vijayanagar empire, Kapilendra not only succeeded in giving a bare protection to his empire from outside aggression, but carried on successful campaigns into the lands of the aggressors and annexed extensive territories from the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahamani and Vijayanagar to the empire of Kalinga. In the long annals of her history, no emperor of Kalinga except Kharavela conquered so much of territory as Kapilendra. He appeared like a meteor in the political firmament of Kalinga when dark clouds of foreign invasions were fast gathering on her horizon, and during that meteoric career he brought laurels to the

glory of his motherland and caused a bright chapter to be added to her history.

Soon after his accession the declining imperialism of Kalinga was given a new momentum and the Gajapati emperor turned his aggressive eyes towards the unfriendly neighbours around his empire. The military strength of Kapilendra when he began his all out offensive against the Kingdoms of the east, west and south can fairly be imagined from one fact only that in the beginning years of his reign he had more than two hundred thousands of war elephants under his command as a part of his military machine. Such a gigantic elephant force trembled the Bahamani Sultan Alauddin Ahmad Shah even before Kapilendra had come into war with the Bahamanis and we know from the pages of the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* that the amazed Sultan when he compared his own elephant force with that of Kapilendra, he saw it to be not even of a poor number of two hundred only as against two lakhs of the great Gajapati. If the elephant force of Kapilendra formed such a formidable institution, his infantry and cavalry forces must have been equally great and invincible. Thus with a powerful military organisation at his back, Kapilendra began his aggressive career. The first to feel the weight of his power were the Muslim kingdoms of Bengal and Malwa. During the closing years of the Ganga rule, the Sultans of Bengal had threatened and violated the eastern frontier of Kalinga. On the other side, the rising

Muslim Sultanate of Malwa was growing rapidly in its bulk and in course of time touched the north-western frontier of Kalinga. The Gajapati emperor realised that there must be put an end to the danger from those two quarters before expeditions had been carried out towards the kingdoms of the south.

From the inscriptions of Kapilendra we come to know that military campaigns were conducted against the kingdoms of the two Sultans and those two powers were humbled. The defeat of the Sultan of Malwa has been mentioned in one of the inscriptions of Kapilendra to be found in the district of Cuttack. But it does not seem that Kapilendra annexed any portion of the territory of Malwa. It was like a lesson to the Muslim power of Malwa that Kalinga had already reasserted herself and had even been powerful enough to affect a defeat on the Sultan's army. The net result of the expedition of Kapilendra towards the frontier of Malwa was the fortification of his own empire in the north-west against any invasion from that part of Muslim India. After this, the army of the Gajapati came into war with the independent Sultan of Bengal. This Bengal war perhaps continued for several years when at length Kapilendra achieved some permanent conquest in that part. The Gajapati emperor, after his Bengal war, styled himself with the title of Gaudeswara, or the Lord of Gauda. This was a unique title for Kapilendra which no Kalinga monarch before him adopted, even though

some Kalinga emperors like Narasinha Dev captured the city of Gauda and annexed portions of Bengal to their empire. Perhaps the victory of Kapilendra over the Muslim armies of Bengal was more glorious and more effective than that of Narasinha Dev. His conquest of the Bengal territories might have been more extensive and his capture of Gauda more dazzling. Any way or other, the dignified title of Gaudeswara as adopted by Gajapati Kapilendra is sufficient to indicate that his achievement in Bengal was one of utmost success. The defeated Sultan of Bengal in hands of Kapilendra was either Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah or Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah, and a substantial part of the Muslim Sultanate of Bengal was snatched away from the hands of either of the above named Sultans who ruled Bengal one after another and was annexed to the empire of the victor.

After the Gajapati Gaudeswara had finished his works in Bengal, he turned his attention towards the far south. It was in that quarter that the powerful enemies of Kalinga were aggressively active. The southern and the south-western wars of Kapilendra were destined to be a prolonged adventure and finally as fortune favoured the Kalinga emperor, he was crowned with success in that part of India.

Before the army of Kapilendra had faced the most dangerous enemies of the south, the Sultan of Bahmani kingdom and the emperor of Vijayanagar, he extinguished at the first instance the kingdoms of Chandra-

giri and Udaygiri in Nellore. King Birupaksha of Udaygiri fought very bravely against the invader, but was badly defeated and taken a prisoner. Udaygiri was annexed to the empire of Kalinga. Soon after this conquest, the kingdom of Chandragiri was conquered and annexed with Kalinga. When the entire Nellore area of the modern Madras came into the possession of Kapilendra, he next ordered his army to move towards the river Kauvery. The kingdom of the Keralas on the bank of the river Kauvery was invaded and conquered. When Kapilendra stood on the bank of Kauvery after the conquest of the modern Nellore, Canjeeveram, Arcot, Trichinopoly and Tanjore, the whole of the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal lay at his feet and he was then the emperor of an empire that extended from the river Ganges in the north to the river Kauvery in the south. The conquest of Kapilendra resembles the conquest of emperor Kharavela more than sixteen centuries before. As if the aggressive Kalingan imperialism begun by Kharavela by wide-spread conquests in the north and the south was taken up for the last time by the Gajapati Kapilendra before Kalinga had seen her final downfall within a century only. It was really a very remarkable episode during those closing days of the independent Kalinga that the Gajapati emperor should have conquered as far as Kauvery in the extreme edge of the Peninsular India at the very face of the powerful empires of the Vijayanagar and Bahmani. Sixteen

hundred years separate Kharavela and Kapilendra—the two Kalingan conquerors of the south. These two emperors represent the extremes of the Kalingan glory. The achievement of Kharavela is that glowing spark of the rising sun which marks the beginning of every new day and of every new movement. The achievement of Kapilendra was a final effort to recapture the old spirit of a great imperialism,—it was a unique triumph of that emperor to have succeeded in capturing it,—but his achievement was a personal triumph, it was like the last splendour of a setting sun.

After the sway of Kapilendra had been established as far as the river Kauvery, the hostility with the Vijayanagar and Bahmani kingdoms followed in its natural course. The conquest of Udaygiri in Nellore by Kapilendra was already a blow against the Vijayanagar empire as Udaygiri was the seat of a Vijayanagar viceroyalty. But direct and prolonged wars were to follow now. The Yadava royal dynasty of Vijayanagar was on its declining path when Kapilendra mobilised his force against that power. Equally, the Bahmani Sultans too were incompetent rivals to the power of Kapilendra in the south. While Kapilendra was carrying on widespread conquests in the Deccan, both the ruling dynasties of the Bahmani and the Vijayanagar empires could not stand on the way of the conqueror. Like a whirlwind the army of the Gajapati was rolling into the south, sometimes violat-

ing the Bahmani and Vijayanagar frontiers and sometimes ravaging the territory of those states. But none of those powerful states of the south rose equal to the occasion and challenged the invader. Emperor Deva Ray II of Vijayanagar and Sultan Alauddin Ahmad II of Bahmani kingdom were the contemporaries of Kapilendra while the latter traversed the south. But none of these contemporaries neither their successors dared to organise the south against the might of the Gajapati. From the very beginning of his reign, Kapilendra had been dreaded by his Bahmani contemporaries. The Muslim historians from the court of Bahmani had looked with wonder at the rising power of Kalinga. The conquest of Telingana by Kapilendra soon after his accession and his invincible elephant force, led the Bahmanis to fear Kapilendra from the beginning of his rise to power. The disgraceful defeats however awaited the Bahmanis. Sometimes before 1459 or in that very year, Kapilendra fell upon the Bahmani stronghold of Devarkonda. The Bahmani commander Khwajah-i-Jahan and his Muslim army were besieged. After a heavy fighting Devarkonda was reduced, the Muslim army was badly defeated and dispersed, and Khwajah-i-Jahan was compelled to take a disgraceful flight being followed by the victorious Kalinga army. The accounts of this defeat of the Bahmani army in the hands of the Gajapati had even been recorded on the pages of the contemporary Musalman historians

who in general did not like to ascribe a victory to a Hindu over a Muslim. The defeat and disgrace of Khwaja-i-Jahan was undoubtedly a great blow at the prestige of the Bahmani Sultanate. It was during the regime of Sultan Humayun Shah, successor of Sultan Alauddin Ahmad, that the Bahmani kingdom suffered from this defeat. In 1461, Sultan Humayun Shah Bahmani died. Almost the same time Kapilendra invaded the Bahmani empire. This time the Gajapati emperor was to show one of his best political achievements. With a huge army he rapidly marched into the very heart of the Muslim empire in the Deccan. The capital city of the Bahmani Sultans, Bidar, lay exposed before him. It was so important and remarkable an incident in the contemporary India of that time that the Musalman historians could not slur over the incident. Both in the *Tarikh-i-Firishta* and the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* we find the great Gajapati Kapilendra Dev before the gates of the Bahmani capital, Bidar. It is really wonderful how the entire Bahmani military strength could not check the enemy and how could Kapilendra conduct his victorious march as far as Bidar. We do not know if the Bahmani metropolis was captured by the invader. The Muslim historians who were compelled by circumstances to mention the coming of the Gajapati as far as Bidar, cleverly enough omitted the result of such an invasion from the pages of their history. It seems certain that the then Sultan of Bahmani kingdom,

Muhammad Nizam Shah, had to purchase peace at a very heavy price. The invader certainly returned back from Bidar, but it was not for nothing that he returned. It is evident that Gulbarga or Kalabarga was ceded to the Gajapati from the Bahmani territory. This Kalabarga was the early seat of the Bahmani royalty and with the annexation of this famous cradle-land of the Bahmanis to the empire of Kapilendra, the proud conqueror took the title of Kalabargeshwara or the Lord of Kalabarga.

The issue of Kapilendra with the empire of Vijayanagar was like one that of with the Bahmani kingdom. In his early campaigns and conquests in the eastern coast of the Deccan, the Gajapati had deliberately neglected the power of Vijaynagar and without declaring an open war with that empire, he had annexed some portions of her territory to his own empire. While Kapilendra conquered piece by piece as far as Kauvery, the coastal territories of the Vijaynagar empire had automatically come under him even without a major war with that power. But direct and greater hostilities were bound to follow. The aggressive Kapilendra wanted that the powerful rulers of Vijaynagar, who on previous occasions had fought with the Ganga rulers of Kalinga, must be challenged and defeated in open fields. In the year 1449 A.D. Mallikarjuna, son of emperor Deva Raya II, ascended the throne of Vijaynagar. It was during the reign of this emperor that Kapilendra declared

open war against the Vijaynagar empire. The army of the Gajapati conquered Biraghattam and Nandapur and proceeded towards the south. In course of its victorious march the army appeared before the gates of Raj Mahendri. Before long this famous city of the south fell into the hands of Kapilendra. The victory gained over the armies of Mallikarjuna was so successful that the unfortunate emperor of Vijaynagar had to cede all the eastern districts of the Vijaynagar empire to the Kalinga emperor. The Munnur inscriptions in the South Arcot district stand till today as the bright witnesses to the conquest of Kapilendra Dev in the empire of Vijaynagar. In 1456, a crushing defeat was administered on the Vijaynagar power by the Gajapati. All the Vijaynagar strongholds, the cities and fortresses, in the entire eastern stretch of that empire were captured by Kapilendra. By the year 1461, the whole of the eastern division of the Vijaynagar empire had been successfully annexed to the empire of Kapilendra Dev. The Gajapati, after his outstanding achievements in the south, styled himself with the title of 'Lord of Karnat'. The emperor Mallikarjuna of Vijaynagar was so much afraid of Kapilendra after his disgrace and defeat in the hands of that Kalinga monarch that never during his life-time he tried to reassert his claim over the lost territories of Vijaynagar and never did he dare to mobilise his army

against the army of Kalinga to regain the lost prestige of his empire.

Such were, therefore, the political achievements of Kapilendra amid an array of powerful enemies who were actively busy in rooting out the independent existence of Kalinga. It sounds wonderful that Kapilendra defeated the rulers of Bengal, Malwa, Bahmani kingdom and Vijaynagar empire. Single handed he fought with all his hostile neighbours and thanks to his extraordinary ability, he not only defeated his enemies, but also annexed substantial portions from the lands of the latter. The extensive conquests that he made were brought under a sound administrative system. His was not a passing expedition into the countries of his foes, but one of annexation and administration. Coming from a very humble origin Kapilendra Dev proved himself to be one of the few great kings of whom Kalinga is proud. He was rather born too late for this land. Already when the days of a prosperous and independent Kalinga were numbered, Kapilendra was given a chance in history. But had he been born in some earlier century, his achievements should have heralded a unique age for his mother land. His extensive empire from the Ganges to the Kauvery was created practically in a wrong time. Had his conquests been done during the hey-day of his nation, his should have been the best of the empires that Kalinga ever saw after that of the short-lived empire of Kharavela.

At once the victor over the Muslim Sultans of Bengal, Malwa and Bahmani kingdom, Kapilendra was undoubtedly the greatest Hindu of his time. A few Hindu kings of India can boast of such splendid victories over so many of powerful Muslim states as can this king. Even the success of this powerful Hindu over the Muslim powers of India had to be admitted by his contemporary Muslim historians in the court of his enemies. His name was a terror to the heart of his neighbours and his force was invincible for any of his contemporaries. Befitting was the title of this great monarch,—Gajapati, Gaudeswara, Navakoti-Karnata-Kalabargeswara,—according to his strength and success.

It was not in his political achievements alone that Kapilendra exhausted his energy. He was one of those rare examples of monarchs whose culture was as great as his power. The court of the great Gajapati was full with the wise and the learned as it was with generals and warriors. Kapilendra himself was a great scholar in Sanskrit and personally wrote a Sanskrit drama named 'Parasuram Vijaya'. It was during the time of Kapilendra that the Sudramuni Sarala Das wrote his 'Maha Bharat'. This work is a monumental classic of Kalinga and the great Sarala Das has not only retold the story of Ram and Sita in this work in a new and original style but also has painted in it the real picture of the Kalinga of his time. The greatness and learning of Kapilendra have

amply been referred in his pages by the Sudramuni. The unbounded liberalism of the emperor has been beautifully described in another celebrated work, the 'Bhakti Bhagabat' of Acharya Jiva Dev. We come to know from this work that Kapilendra used to donate his wealth and valuables to the Brahmins and the Bhaktas without any reservation. To the religious shrines, specially to the temple of Jagannath, his charity was unparalleled. From the inscriptions of this Surya emperor it is gathered that he took a vow to distribute his wealth among the Brahmins. That the emperor was extremely religious minded there is no doubt. Immediately after his accession to the throne, he issued a proclamation from Bhubaneswar to his officers in the state that they all should follow a just, righteous and religious path, and that a little slip from that path would mean exile from the state. Such was the benevolent disposition of the emperor and such was his feeling of kindness towards his subjects! To foster the Brahmanical practices and Brahmanical learning, Kapilendra established several Brahmin colonies in different parts of his kingdom. As a great patron of Vaishnavism, he encouraged and patronised the Bhaktas to preach that cult. A great impetus was given to the Vaishnavite literature. Kapilendra introduced the lyrics of Jaydev into the temple hymns of Jagannath. The Devdasi dances of Vaishnavism were also introduced in the Jagannath temple. The Vaishnavite influences

were beginning to come from outside as well. A generation back, the great Vaishnava poets like Vidyapati and Chandi Das had flooded Bihar and Bengal with their melodious love lyrics. Those divine love songs, with the love of Sri Krishna and His celestial bride Radha as the subject-matter, echoed around the walls of Jagannath Puri from the time of Kapilendra Dev onward. Though busy in ceaseless warfare, Kapilendra managed to devote much of his time towards the religious activities of his age.

A great conqueror, Kapilendra was equally a great administrator. He modified the Ganga administrative system and made it more benevolent. The humane emperor abolished some important taxes like the salt tax from his country. The Brahmins were relieved from some more taxes. Kapilendra's eyes were very vigilant over the works of his officers. He was himself touring his extensive empire and personally conducting administration from different centres. Like Sri Harsha of the past this Gajapati emperor made the personal supervision of his entire empire a principle of his administration. For his thorough, vigilant, and benevolent administration Kalinga enjoyed an unbroken era of wonderful peace and prosperity for long thirty years of Kapilendra's rule. It was while busy in supervising the administration of his empire in the far south that at length the great Gajapati Kapilendra Dev

breathed his last on the bank of the river Krishna on the 25th of November, 1466.

With the death of Kapilendra Dev Kalinga closed the era of her conquests. The two successors of Kapilendra were no doubt very remarkable emperors, but they could not maintain the spirit of an aggressive imperialism against the powers outside. Theirs was more of a defensive role and only in rare cases offensive. The sands of Kalinga's greatness were running fast and it was now difficult to revive a waning power. Yet the military tradition of Kapilendra was enough to maintain the prestige of Kalinga during the time of the remaining two Surya emperors. Kapilendra Dev was the last in the line of Kharavela, Yayati and Chodaganga, and with his death there passed away the real spirit of the Kalingan imperialism. Only the semblance of a great empire with all its pompous legacies continued to exist for the remaining years of the Surya rule.

Gajapati Kapilendra Dev was succeeded by his son Purushottam Dev. Scholars differ in opinion regarding the nature of Purushottam's accession to the throne of his father. According to some, who take into account the long standing traditions of the country, Purushottam ascended the throne after a bloody fratricidal war. According to them when Kapilendra Dev breathed his last in his camp on the bank of the Krishna, the ministers and the generals of the dead emperor in one voice declared Purushottam Dev

to be the emperor of Kalinga, and as the prince was present with his father in that distant camp, his coronation ceremony was performed in that very camp where the Great Kapilendra had ended his life. It is said that while a prince, Purushottam had marked himself to be such an impressive youth with so much of extraordinary qualities and virtues that his illustrious father had desired this prince to succeed him among his many sons. Thus by the virtue of having been nominated by his father to rule after him, and being elected by the ministers of the late Kapilendra to be the emperor of Kalinga, Purushottam Dev crowned himself on the bank of the Krishna. But on his return back to the capital, his accession was challenged by his other brothers. According to tradition, Kapilendra Dev had as many as eighteen sons and all of them contested the throne with Purushottam. In the fratricidal war that followed, Purushottam came out victorious over his other brothers with the help of the late emperor's ministers and generals. But as Purushottam was a very kind and magnanimous man, he forgave his rebellious brothers and gave each of them a piece of territory from his empire to rule independently. These eighteen brothers of Purushottam got eighteen small kingdoms for themselves and as it is said, these eighteen kingdoms of the time of Purushottam later on became the eighteen native States of Orissa. Any way or other, according to the above said school of

thought, the death of Kapilendra Dev was followed by a war of succession among his many sons, and as a result of that war, though Purushottam Dev got the empire of Kalinga for himself, yet eighteen small kingdoms were created within his empire and thus a tendency of disintegration marred the new reign at its very beginning. This version of the accession of Purushottam has generally been derived from the traditions maintained in the Madala Panji and the Gangavamsanucharitam. But to some other historians, this disputed succession is a mere fiction. This school maintains that no fratricidal war disturbed the accession of Purushottam even though he was not the only son of the late Gajapati. He ascended the throne in a peaceful manner as the legitimate and the most successful successor to the throne of Kapilendra Dev. Those who believed that the coronation of Purushottam was delayed for four years on account of the war of succession have been proved to be wrong on the face of an inscription that records the time of Purushottam's coronation to be sometimes before the March of 1467. It has been clearly mentioned in the 'Kapila Bhaswati' that the regnal year of Purushottam began from the very year of the death of his father. Thus the question of a delay in coronation, as maintained by the old school of thought, does not arise. Kapilendra Dev breathed his last in the November of 1466 and it seems very probable that Purushottam ascended the throne either in the

November-December of 1466 or in the January-February of 1467.

The second Surya emperor, like that of his celebrated father, was a highly cultured king. He was benevolent and generous, vastly learned and extremely religious. A very learned scholar in Sanskrit, Purushottam Dev has left behind him many of his valuable and scholarly contributions to that literature. Both a poet and a prose-writer, he is a unique example in the entire list of the crowned heads. A few kings of India can boast of such an immense literary work as Purushottam even when the political troubles were overwhelming for the King. He wrote a huge Sanskrit prose work named 'Nama Malika' wherein the substance of sixty-seven Puranas and histories was given. His 'Abhinava Gita-Govinda' is a beautiful work in poetry. 'Mukti Chintamani', 'Beni-Samhar', 'Durgotsav', 'Bishnu-Bhakti Kaladruma', were a few of his many works to be mentioned. Purushottam compiled a very famous dictionary in Sanskrit known as 'Trikantha Kosha'. This dictionary is one of the most precious works in the field of Sanskrit literature. Many works of this royal writer have not yet been discovered from the heaps of palmleaf manuscripts which remain in a neglected state in every part of the country. Many of his discovered works have not yet been published. The literary activity of this political personality is really a wonder by itself.

But Purushottam had to come to the throne of

Kalinga at a time when the country required more of a soldier than of a poet. The death of Kapilendra Dev had removed terror from the hearts of the Bahmanis and the Vijaynagar emperors. The news of his demise was received in those countries amid an unbounded joy. Ever since that Gajapati had humbled the powerful kingdoms of Vijaynagar and Bahmani, and had annexed substantial portions of their territory to his empire, the statesmen of those two southern empires had anxiously awaited a moment when their lost prestige would be revived again. Kapilendra had conquered too far into the south, had annexed the lands of very powerful enemies to his empire and had inflicted so many wounds in the heart of his enemies that it was impossible on their part to forget them. The action of Kapilendra was bound to follow by a great reaction. When the redoubtable Gajapati was no more, it was the golden opportunity for his irreconcilable enemies to reassert themselves and take revenge upon the works of the dead foe. The accession of Purushottam, therefore, was synonymous with dangerous foreign invasions. His powerful father had no doubt left for him a great empire and a strong military organisation, but he had also bequeathed to his son a set of relentless enemies and a heap of grave responsibilities. After an age of unceasing warfare during the thirty years' rule of the first Surya emperor, the army at the accession of Purushottam appeared as if tired and

exhausted, requiring a period of peace after one that of war. But peace at this time was an anachronism by itself and the tired army was called upon to prepare for war. Had Kapilendra Dev continued to rule after he had conquered vast and defeated many, the awe of his name and the terror associated with his army might have kept his enemies at a far distance from his frontiers and there might have been an age of peace for a war-wearied army. But that great conqueror was not an immortal man. When the icy hand of death put an end to the glorious career of Kapilendra, there were heralded ominous symptoms of external invasions endangering thereby the internal peace of the empire of the Gajapati.

Immediately after the accession of Purushottam Dev, the empire received rude shocks of foreign aggression. Saluva Narasinha, then the ruler of Kanchi, declared war against Purushottam in 1468 and invaded Kalinga in the south. Chandragiri and Udaygiri, those two conquered provinces of Kapilendra, were reduced by Saluva Narasinha. The forts of the Kalinga emperor in those quarters were all captured by the invader. The frontier armies of the Gajapati were defeated and they took shelter inside the stronghold of Udaygiri. From the historical literatures of the south we get that during the invasion of Saluva Narasinha, a large number of the Oriya soldiers fell in the field. When the news of

the invasion of Chandragiri and Udaygiri reached the Gajapati Purushottam, he immediately mobilised his army and in hot haste marched towards Udaygiri. The arrival of the imperial army of Kalinga was rather too sudden and Saluva Narasinha was taken unexpectedly. A fierce war followed, and in the end the Gajapati came out victorious. Saluva Narasinha and his Kanchi army fought well, but were badly defeated. Saluva Narasinha himself was taken a prisoner. Thus with a remarkable victory over the army of Kanchi, and with the ruler of that land as a prisoner in his hands, Purushottam was at a position to dictate any term suitable to him. But the subsequent events which followed clearly show that Purushottam let off the enemy without an advantageous gain for his empire. He released Saluva Narasinha who gave back Udaygiri to the Gajapati. But as it is evident from the south Indian inscriptions, Saluva Narasinha exercised his authority over the extensive Kalinga territory from Udaygiri to the river Kauvery. There is no explanation as to how could Saluva Narasinha retain the territory of the Surya empire even after his disastrous defeat in the hands of the Surya King. It seems that Purushottam was too lenient towards the Kanchi ruler, and probably, in the treaty that was made with the latter, he tacitly submitted to the passing away of his lands in the far south. Whatever it might have been, the political relations of Purushottam with Saluva Narasinha

seem to prove that this Gajapati had no imperialistic zeal of his relentless father. Purushottam should not have been so much humane towards a powerful but fallen foe like the Kanchi ruler. The territory of the imprisoned Saluva could have been well annexed to the empire of Kalinga instead of he being allowed to be independent in his kingdom and even getting chance to exercise his authority over the portions of his victor's land. Purushottam had to amend his kind policy towards Saluva Narasinha at a latter time.

According to widely believed tradition in Orissa, Purushottam married the daughter of the defeated Kanchi King. The literature of this land abounds with the facts and fictions of this marriage. Various kinds of myths and fictions have gathered around the Kanchi expedition of Purushottam. The real substance of this tradition may be that Saluva Narasinha, after his defeat in the hands of Purushottam, gave him his daughter in marriage. The name of this Kanchi princess is said to have been Padmavati who may be identified with the queen of Purushottam Dev whose name was Rupambika.

The issue with Saluva Narasinha temporarily came to an end probably in the year 1470 A.D. But almost simultaneously invasions came from the Bahmani Kingdom. The then Bahmani Sultan, Muhammad III had become extremely jubilant over the death of the emperor Kapilendra and got prepared to reconquer the lost Bahmani territories from

the hands of his successor. The Sultan entrusted the work to one of his generals named Hasan Bahri who was a Hindu convert and perhaps the most notorious of the Bahmani generals. Hasan Bahri, with the zeal of a convert, proceeded towards the empire of Purushottam and defeated the Oriya army on the frontier. The Bahmani general with his invading force gradually reduced the territories as far as Raj Mahendri. Raj Mahendri fell to the Mussalmans and from there the Bahmani army marched towards Kondavidu. In course of time Kondavidu also fell to the enemy. It is apparent from the rapid progress of the Bahmani force that the defence of the Gajapati in that quarter of the empire was not so strong as it ought to have been. As the powerful enemies of Kalinga remained in that corner, Purushottam should have better reserved the substance of his military strength there in the south. Perhaps the Gajapati was gradually losing faith in the extensive southern empire of his father and, as such, his military hold in that part was slackening down. For nearly four years the Gajapati did not move in person against Hasan Bahri, neither did he try in earnest to drive out the Bahmanis by sending any effective army under a good commander. Thus the Bahmanis were allowed to rule over the Telegu areas of Kalinga uptill the year 1474 when for a time Purushottam Dev appeared in that quarter with a huge army at the invitation of an Oriya general of the Bahmani empire who betrayed the Bahmani

cause and changed his side to the cause of the Gajapati. The name of this Oriya general was Bhimaraaja and in 1474, he betrayed the Bahamani cause in favour of Purushottam. The invitation from Bhimaraaja inspired hope in Purushottam Dev who now became determined to recover his lost dominions. With ten thousand cavalry and eight thousand infantry he entered into the Bahmani conquered territories. Hasan Bahari was badly defeated before the walls of Raj Mahendri and was driven out. The Telengana area was practically cleared off the Bahamanis. But the defeat of Hasan Bahari did not end the conflict with Bahmani Sultanate. On the receipt of the news of Hasan's defeat, the Sultan mobilised his entire army against Purushottam and proceeded in person to face the enemy. Wisely or unwisely, Purushottam Dev avoided a war with the Sultan and retreated back. As a result, once more Raj Mahendri and the adjoining territories came into possession of the Bahmanis and Hasan Bahari became the Viceroys of that tract. The return of the Gajapati without a success certainly went against his prestige. That he avoided a war with the Sultan and admitted to the loss of his territory, speak much about the declining militarism of the Surya empire. While Purushottam was busy in war with the Bahmani power from 1474 to 1477; Saluva Narasinha was busy in annexing to his kingdom the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal which belonged to Kalinga. Thus

during the first ten years of Purushottam's rule, the Tamil areas of the empire of Kapilendra passed into the hands of Saluva Narasinha and the Northern Telingana passed into the hands of the Bahmani Sultan. The far-flung domain from the river Godavari to the river Kauvery which was conquered by the first Surya emperor was no more in the empire of Kalinga. It seemed as if the military machine of the empire had been completely out of its gear, and that the decay had already set in into the former vigour of Kalinga.

But fortune favoured the Gajapati during the second half of his reign. If his own strength had declined, the internal dissension which had thrown both the Vijaynagar and the Bahmani kingdom into turmoil, had rendered the enemy strength weaker still. In 1480 a serious type of court intrigue marred the Bahmani politics. In 1481, as a result of this intrigue, the wisest of the Bahmani statesmen, Mahmud Gawan, fell a victim to the sword of the executioner. With the downfall of this minister there passed away the real brain from the Bahmani Court. Evil days were fast approaching the Bahmani empire. In 1482 died the Bahmani Sultan Mahammad III. He was succeeded by an unworthy and useless successor, Mahmud Shah. The party politics in the Bahmani Court was worsening rapidly. Hasan Bahari, whose treachery was responsible for the death

of Gawan, himself was assassinated soon afterwards. His son, who was left at Raj Mahendri as the Bahmani Viceroy, left that place. The weak and worthless Sultan was incapable to tackle the situation. While the wide-spread disorder was the order of the day inside the Bahmani territory, and while a weak ruler and a divided court made the confusion worse confounded, it became the opportune time for the enemies of the Bahmani State to take revenge upon that power. Purushottam Dev, after his defeat in 1477, practically lost all hope over the Godavari-Krishna doab and painfully enough observed from his capital the establishment of the Mussalman power over that rich conquest of his father. But now when the Bahmani Kingdom had fallen into evil days, the Gajapati recovered the lost hope in himself and with a mighty army invaded the Mussalmans in the Telengana. In a very brief time he succeeded in driving out the Bahmani soldiers from that part of his ancestral Kingdom and the whole of the Godavari-Krishna doab once more came into the possession of Purushottam Dev. The Bahmanis were disgracefully defeated and were driven out from all their strongholds in that part of the south. This victory of the Gajapati stemmed the tide of the declining militarism of the Surya empire for the time being and once more revived the lost vigour in the army. The success of Purushottam Dev over the Bahmanis and his reconquest of the Godavari-Krishna doab were recorded in

the inscriptions which have been discovered from Kondavidu and the Telengana region.

Soon after the army of Purushottam had won victories over the Bahmanis and regained the lost territories of Kalinga, the empire of Vijaynagar entered into a very critical time of her history. Here in the Vijaynagar empire too, a serious internecine struggle broke out. In the year 1487, Saluva Narasinha deposed and killed the last ruler of the Yadava dynasty of Vijaynagar and usurped the throne. This dynastic revolution in Vijaynagar inspired the Gajapati to take revenge upon Saluva Narasinha whose rule in his usurped empire was yet unstable. Saluva had betrayed the kindness of Purushottam. Once a prisoner in the hands of the Kalinga emperor, he had busied himself in conquering the Kalinga territory in the south after his release. Perhaps for long the Kalinga emperor had desired to punish the faithless Saluva. But the opportunity did not come earlier. Now at a time when he was at the height of his power and prestige after his victory over the Bahmanis, and when the declining militarism had been revived with a new spirit, Purushottam Dev wanted to punish the usurper Saluva Narasinha, and reconquer his ancestral lands beyond Krishna. In 1489 the army of the Gajapati crossed the river Krishna and rapidly marched into the farther south. The provinces between the Krishna and the Kauvery, which once belonged to the Gajapati Kapilendra but now were under the sway

of Saluva Narasinha, were reconquered again. But the wrath of Purushottam Dev was not satisfied with the recovery of his lost domains only. With a wonderful courage he directed his army into the very heart of the Vijaynagar empire and proceeded as far as the very capital of that great State. The capital of Vijaynagar was plundered, and the victorious Gajapati brought away with him the beautiful image of 'Sakshi Gopal' which adores the temple of the same name near Puri since then, and a jewelled throne which was presented to the supreme temple at Puri and which is used since then as the throne of Lord Jagannath, as the precious trophies of the victory. This supreme achievement of Purushottam Dev has been recorded on the pages of that authentic biography of Sri Chaitanya, written by the famous Vaishnava Saint of those days, Krishnadas Kaviraj. Moreover the inscription of Purushottam in the far south in Bezwada, and the Potavaram grant of that emperor, are the glaring proofs of his southern exploits.

Such were the success of the son of Kapilendra Dev during the closing years of his reign. His success was no doubt a remarkable feat of his strength. To defeat the Bahmani power and to disgrace the Vijaynagar empire at its very capital, were no small achievements; but whatever great the achievements might have been, they were but a passing episode. The exploits of the Gajapati were destined to be very temporary, his recovery of the paternal dominions in

the south was too short-lived, and as a matter of fact, the dissolution of his empire was now a question of time.

Gajapati Purushottam Dev breathed his last in 1497 and was succeeded by his son Prataprudra Dev. Prataprudra was the third Surya emperor of Kalinga and was the last in the long list of Kalinga emperors. He ruled his empire from 1497 to 1541, for long forty-four years. One of the remarkable personalities in the field of Indian religion and culture, Prataprudra occupies a unique position in the history of this land. But as the cruel History stored it for this philosopher emperor, it was during his reign that the downfall of his empire came all too readily and soon after his death there vanished away a great empire over which he was destined to be the last emperor. The responsibility of the downfall of Kalinga hangs heavy on his shoulder and with all his goodness and greatness he has received a very sad verdict from the lips of History. Crowned at a time when the throne of his empire was more than a bed of thorn, Prataprudra failed to understand the huge responsibility which his accession meant. When the imperial tradition of Kalinga was already on a declining path after the death of Kapilendra Dev, it was the essential duty of his successors to exert themselves for the revival and maintenance of the same. The second Surya emperor, Purushottam Dev, to his undying credit, made desperate attempts to preserve the empire of his

father, and though the first half of his rule was one of failure and despair, during the second half he revived his strength with a persistent and sincere zeal. The determination of that ruler saved the empire from downfall at least for his time. Prataprudra should have tried to become as vigilant and as determined to preserve the empire as his father or grand-father. But unfortunately, this monarch had neither the capacity and originality of his grand-father nor the persistence and determination of his father. Circumstances had made such that owing to the religious movement then blowing in Kalinga, the generation of Prataprudra was a calm, peace-loving and religiously inclined generation. But these qualities rendered the generation to be politically timid. As the head of a people that had become or was rapidly becoming timid, Prataprudra should have tried to infuse into the veins of his nation a political and militaristic stamina. But ironically enough Prataprudra was himself responsible to make his nation timid rather than trying in the opposite way. His religious inclination was his greatest failing and though that inclination was partly inborn and mostly thrust upon, yet the national calamity which this inclination entailed, made him the main actor in the drama of Kalinga's downfall.

Prataprudra was the only son of his father and hence his accession was peaceful. He had inherited to a vast empire extending from the Ganges almost very near to the river Kavery. At his accession, the

contemporaries of the rival States of Bahmani and Vijaynagar were either very weak or busy in their own internal dissensions. Thus there was absolutely no danger to the empire of Prataprudra at the beginning of his reign. But this peaceful beginning was destined to be soon overwhelmed with great dangers. While the Gajapati had given up his vigilance on account of a peaceful inheritance and in absence of powerful enemies, destiny meant dramatic changes both inside and outside, and the unprepared emperor at length was caught unaware. During the beginning years of the rule of Prataprudra evil days ruled both the Vijaynagar and the Bahmani Kingdom. In Vijaynagar the Saluva dynasty was gradually yielding place to a new rising power, the Tuluva dynasty. The Tuluva usurpation was taking place slowly and during the process of this dynastic revolution the power of Vijayanagar was under an eclipse. The Surya empire, therefore, was safe from the side of the Vijayanagar power in her extreme southern frontier. In the meantime the Bahmani empire was breaking away into five independent Mussalman Sultanates of the Deccan. During this eventful disintegration in the Muslim empire of the south, the Godavari-Krishna doab of the empire of Kalinga lay without any possible threat from the Bahmani quarter. Anticipating no danger from his southern rivals, Prataprudra neglected the defence of his empire in the south. This was certainly a very unwise step of the emperor. In the uncertain

atmosphere of politics the best statesmanship remains in an eternal vigilance. The third emperor lacked in him such a wise quality. Rapid changes were taking place in the Deccanese politics. New factors were operating in dramatic suddenness. Soon after the extinction of the Saluva dynasty, the Tuluvas came into power in Vijaynagar. To the immortal credit of this new dynasty, almost immediately after its foundation, the dynasty gave the greatest of the Vijaynagar emperors to the throne of that empire. This greatest emperor of Vijaynagar was the celebrated Krishna Deva Ray who ascended the throne in 1509. Perhaps Prataprudra could not imagine at the accession of this monarch that he was the man in whose hand the southern empire of Kalinga was bound to be dissolved. The greatest emperor of Vijaynagar made it his life's ambition from the very beginning of his reign to conquer the entire eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal from the hands of the Gajapati. He was sincere to his intention and soon after he had finished the suppression of internal rebellions in his empire, he invaded the southern part of the Surya territory. With a great army, Krishna Deva Ray fell upon Udaygiri and that Kalinga stronghold fell to the invader in 1513. From Udaygiri the victorious emperor of Vijaynagar marched upon Kondavidu. In the meantime the news of these unexpected invasions had compelled the Gajapati to get up from his repose and hasten towards the

south to face the enemy. Four miles outside the fortress of Kondavidu the armies of Krishna Deva Ray and Prataprudra met. In the battle that took place, the Gajapati was defeated. From Kondavidu the army of Vijaynagar marched as far as Raj Mahendri. From stronghold to stronghold the army of Prataprudra fought but fell back. The Gajapati was not only losing province after province from his southern empire but also lost many of his best generals and nobles and even one or two of his sons during the course of war as the prisoners. The victorious Krishna Deva Ray was rapidly reducing the empire of Kalinga. In course of time his army crossed the river Krishna and proceeded northward. Finally Krishna Deva Ray arrived at Simachalam in Vizagapatam. The whole of the eastern coast of the Peninsular India now lay at the feet of the Vijaynagar emperor. The vast southern empire of Kapilendra Dev which was created at the cost of Bahmani and Vijaynagar empires and which was preserved from dissolution by his son Purushottam so painfully, finally went out of the empire of Kalinga during the time of Prataprudra. Perhaps Prataprudra accepted all the terms dictated to him by his victorious enemy and as a result of this treaty, Krishna Deva Ray became the master of that extensive territory which lay between the rivers Godavari and Kauvery and that formed a part of the empire of the first two Surya emperors of Kalinga. From

the accounts of the Portuguese traveller Nunez we come to know that the Gajapati gave one of his daughters in marriage to Krishna Deva Ray. The accounts of this marriage have also been preserved in some south Indian literature. Thus there ended the first act in the drama of Kalinga's downfall. Krishna Deva Ray exposed to the world that the power of Kalinga had already ebbed away and his uninterrupted victory signalled for invasions from other quarters.

While Prataprudra was suffering from invasions in the South, repeated invasions of his empire followed from the Muslim Sultanate of Bengal. Since Kapilendra conquered Gauda and styled himself as the 'Gaudeswara' or Lord of 'Gauda', the Muslims of that quarter had never tried to defy his authority. The conquered lands of Kapilendra in Bengal remained undisturbed during the reign of Purushottam. But when the downfall of Kalinga synchronised with the reign of Prataprudra, the loss of the Gajapati's northern territory was bound to follow as the loss of his southern empire. Unfortunately for the Gajapati, Bengal by this time was ruled by a powerful Sultan, Alauddin Hussain Shah. According to the contemporary Mussalman historians, Alauddin Hussain Shah conquered the Gauda portion of the empire of Kalinga. Perhaps the districts up to Midnapur now passed away from the hands of Prataprudra. Even before this annexation of the Bengal Sultan, one

of his Mussalman generals, Ismail Ghazi, had entered into the Surya empire as far as Puri while the Gajapati was absent in the far south in 1509. When Prataprudra hurried back from the south, the Bengal general fled back in hot haste. After this incident in 1509 Prataprudra should have better guarded his northern frontier with greater vigilance. But the unfortunate Gajapati was hard pressed in the south, and hence, owing to his negligence in the north, grounds were prepared for the loss of his northern territories.

While the empire of Prataprudra was passing through this critical crisis of foreign invasions, internal disruption gradually began to exhibit itself. Faithlessness, treachery, going over to the side of the enemies, court intrigues and malicious desires, all these cowardice activities became the order of the day during that night-fall of the empire. One of such cowardice incidents first manifested itself during the Bengal campaign of the Gajapati. While the Muslim general Ismail Ghazi was driven out from his empire by Prataprudra and was compelled to take refuge in the fort of Mandaran which was closely besieged by the Gajapati himself, Govinda Vidyadhara, one of the highly responsible ministers of Kalinga, went over to the side of the Mussalmans and betrayed the secrets of his own master. At the face of this treachery, Prataprudra had to return back to his capital and Bengal's general was left unpunished. The faithless

Govinda Vidyadhara personified in himself the internal disruption in Kalinga. He continued with his dubious role and was destined to play a very shocking part in later days.

In the midst of these external and internal perils, the Gajapati was called upon to face yet another powerful enemy of the south. This was the age-old enemy, the Mussalman power of the Deccan. No doubt the Bahmani empire had broken into five independent Muslim sultanates. But this division did not cripple the Muslim power in the Deccan. One of the five newly created Muslim States of the south was Golkonda. This Muslim kingdom, under a very powerful dynasty named as the Qutb-Shahi dynasty, began to exert itself. Those who thought that the dismemberment of the Bahmani empire would dissolve the Muslim power of the Deccan were disappointed. Contemporary with Prataprudra there was ruling Sultan Quli Qutb Shah on the throne of Golkonda. This man had risen to power while the prestige of the Gajapati was fast declining. In 1512, Sultan Quli finally broke away with the Bahmani empire, and since then his ambition centred around the Telingana where he wanted to expand. But from 1512 to 1517, the invincible army of the great Krishna Deva Ray was traversing in the whole of the eastern belt of the Peninsula and as such Sultan Quli could not get any opportunity to hang upon the Telingana region of the Gajapati's empire. After the emperor of Vijaynagar

had extinguished the southern empire of Kalinga between Godavari and Kauvery and had turned his attention towards the Muslim states of the Deccan, and especially towards the sultanate of Bijapur, Sultan Quli Qutb Shah of Golkonda invaded and conquered the remaining territories of the Gajapati in the south, *i.e.*, Telengana region. The invasions of Sultan Quli took place sometimes between 1519 and 1522.

Thus during the first twenty-four years of his reign Prataprudra lost his extensive ancestral dominions in the Peninsular India and also some districts in the north in Bengal. As a matter of fact, by the years 1520-22, the vast empire of the medieval Kalinga, created by the Gangas and the early Suryas, had been reduced to a mere kingdom which had almost the same area that the modern Orissa possesses today. With the loss of her southern extent, Kalinga ceased to be an empire. It was by the middle part of the reign of Prataprudra that there vanished away even the name 'Kalinga' which stood for a great empire in the south and henceforward the remains of that mighty empire became famous as 'Orissa' which name belonged only to a limited area. For twenty years more did Prataprudra rule the kingdom of Orissa, if not the empire of Kalinga. During this long period of two decades, the Gajapati could have tried to regain his lost empire had he so desired. The example of his own father was a glaring one. That Purushottam was defeated earlier and lost his southern territories during

the early part of his reign were known to his son. But during the second half of his reign Purushottam reconquered almost all that he lost. This example too was not a matter of slight importance to be forgotten by Prataprudra. Yet, during twenty years of his remaining reign Prataprudra never tried to reassert himself and revive his lost prestige. A cowardice inactivity for twenty years was certainly unworthy of this descendant of Kapilendra and Purushottam. It was for the inactivity of the King that the spirit of nationalism died out from the heart of the people. The declining militarism finally entered into its last stage of degeneration when the royal vigilance was no more to inspire the army. With the loss of the empire the Gajapati had not only lost his political prestige but also had ended the era of an economic prosperity for his people. Confined inside a limited Kingdom the nation gave up its former outlook, enterprise and inspirations. The wealth of the empire was coming no more. The foreign wars had drained the resources of the people, and now there was no compensation to that. The defeat had brought disgrace, the loss of empire had ended the nation's greatness, a prosperous imperial economy had ceased to exist and in brief, weakness and poverty had begun to eat into the nation's very life. The remaining years of Prataprudra's rule saw this rapid decline of Orissa even though she was relieved of the responsibilities of her mighty empire and for the time being relieved of any

fear of invasion. Yet, Prataprudra did not exert himself to save his kingdom of Orissa from falling into the darkest days. For his masterly inactivity during the most critical days of his people and during the last hours of his kingdom, Prataprudra can never be forgiven by the history of his land. But if Prataprudra was responsible for the downfall of Orissa for his having neglected the royal duties in the gravest hours of his nation, it was a great son of the then India who was responsible for this inactivity and political failings of Prataprudra himself. This famous son of India, who paralysed the political stand of Orissa and crippled her national vitality by changing the Gajapati King of Orissa from being a political leader to a non-violent Vaishnavite saint, was Sri Chaitanya to whom many Indians believed and many believe even today to be an incarnation of Vishnu. Unfortunately for Orissa, the role of this so-called incarnation on her soil resulted in the loss of her independence in the hands of the Muhammedans.

The scholars who have searched into the causes of the downfall of Orissa, have agreed upon holding Sri Chaitanya responsible for the main act in that sad drama. For long eighteen years of his saintly life, Chaitanya lived in Orissa and this stay of the saint fell during the reign of the religious-minded Prataprudra. Once in the year 1510, Chaitanya came to Puri before he began his religious tour in India. After five years of his travel the saint at length returned

back, and from 1515 till 1533 when he breathed his last, Chaitanya remained in that holy city of Jagannath Puri. Long before the coming of Chaitanya, the Ganga and Surya emperors had patronised Vaishnavism in Kalinga. The earlier Vaishnavism was rather confined to the intellectual classes of the country, and though the Kings and their nobles took interest in that cult, they did so without being overwhelmed by the sublime doctrines of the same, such as, non-violence, peace, universal brotherhood, extreme devotion to the Lord etc., which were undoubtedly injurious to the practice of those who guided the political destiny of a land. The previous emperors of Kalinga, beginning from Chodaganga Dev to Purushottam Dev, patronised Vaishnavism, many of them built monumental Vaishnavite temples, and almost invariably all of them were Vaishnavas in their religious faith. But none of them neglected their political duties of war and violence and none of them for a moment came under the pale of the Vaishnavite weakness. The Vaishnavism during the time of the Gangas was no doubt sublime, but then it had not been degenerated to the extent of being a cult of feminism. During the time of Kapilendra Dev and a little earlier, a great Vaishnavite movement was taking place in northern India from Brindaban to Bengal. Vaishnavism was fast approaching the masses through the vehicle of songs. Gradually these Vaishnavite songs were tending towards one central theme,

the theme of love between Krishna and Radha and innumerable Gopis. The cult of love in Vaishnavism was old. Jaydev had sung the songs of love. But in course of time the love themes of Radha-Krishna were taking a perverted trend in literature. Such a wave of a sumptuous literature abounding with sensuousness flooded Orissa from the time of Kapilendra Dev onward. When Prataprudra came to the throne of Orissa Vaishnavism had made a remarkable progress in this land. But unfortunately, by this time Vaishnavism had already been perverted in its outlook and ideals. When Chaitanya appeared in the religious field of Orissa, Vaishnavism had already become a popular cult of this land. But this popularity was based on its simple and romantic doctrine of getting God through love and devotion. Sri Chaitanya was no doubt the greatest exponent of later Vaishnavism, and no Vaishnava of India made that cult more popular than Chaitanya, but the influence of that later Vaishnavism on the ignorant mass proved itself to be a social evil. In Orissa, Chaitanya gave a culminating touch to this popular Vaishnavism. His coming to Orissa and permanent settlement in Jagannath Puri resulted in a great religious upheaval. The literature of Orissa found its golden age for the Vaishnavite influences. Vaishnavism became the mass religion of this land. The cult of love appealed to the sentiment of the people with all its romantic fervour. The congregational prayers with the melodies of music,

and religious processions with songs of the Lord, became the order of the day. While this remarkable religious upheaval was going on throughout the length and breadth of Orissa, a great national depression was rapidly taking its course. The quietistic philosophy of this Neo-Vaishnavism, the vain conception of getting God through the easiest way of love, the effect of a sensuous literature based on the name of religion, an extreme consciousness for pious deeds and a whole-time indulgence in prayers and processions, all these things fostered a sort of feminine tenderness in the heart of the people and developed a type of weakness in the national character and finally resulted in the social inactivity of a pious nature in all the works that were worldly. Such a national depression and social inactivity were pregnant with grave consequences, consequences which resulted in the ultimate downfall of a great people.

The influence of Neo-Vaishnavism on the politics of Orissa was still more dangerous. Chaitanya arrived at Puri when the Gajapati was absent in the south. Immediately after his return his meeting might have taken place with that India-famed saint. It is not at all difficult to ascertain why and how the Gajapati so abruptly broke away with the current politics of his empire and of contemporary powers and spent the remaining many years of his royal career as a staunch Vaishnava. Prataprudra had some religious leanings from the beginning. Now when he

returned from his southern war fields, losing in those fields the empire of his ancestors, in that sad and unhappy moment the preachings of the saint must have attracted the mind of the Gajapati from the worldly affairs of the state to the doctrines of peace and non-violence. It was only after his reverses in politics that a turning point came to the life of the king. The posterity can never forgive Chaitanya and Prataprudra for their mutual relation. The saint is blamed for the fact that not understanding the responsibility of a Hindu King in face of Muhammedan invasions, he converted Prataprudra into a staunch non-violent Vaishnava. The Gajapati is blamed that he did not realise as the political head of a State what a catastrophe his religious indulgence meant for his people. Chaitanya interfered in the politics of Orissa which was certainly undue on his part. The Vaishnavite literature abounds with informations how Chaitanya advised the King in grave matters of state affairs. There is nothing to disbelieve these informations as they are to be found from the pages of the honest contemporary biographers of the saint. When the Mussalmans of Bengal were hanging upon the northern frontier of Orissa, Prataprudra informed his desire to Chaitanya that he wanted to lead an expedition against the Bengal Sultan to punish him for his aggressive attitude. But Chaitanya advised the Gajapati not to take up that violent course as war meant men-killing and that was not the duty of a true

Vaishnava. Being so advised by the preacher, the King abandoned his desire for a war against the Musalmans. Chaitanya is said to have advised the King now and on that his only duty even as a King was to think of Sri Krishna and nothing else. Prataprudra obeyed his religious teacher. When the Gajapati himself was so converted, many of his high officers too became staunch disciples of Chaitanya. Sri Ramananda Ray was the Governor of Orissa's southern division under Prataprudra. This Governor was the first and foremost among the Gajapati's high officials to have turned a thorough-going Vaishnava. At a time when the Governor of Southern Orissa should have been a man of exceptional military qualities to save the frontiers from the forceful pressure from Vijaynagar and Golkonda, there was a man like Ray Ramananda there who was not a soldier but a Bhakta. It was the duty of the Gajapati to remove such an incapable man from that dangerous quarter of the kingdom. But because Ramananda was a devoted follower of Chaitanya, the Gajapati tacitly submitted to his continuance in his post in that quarter. Like Ramananda, another incapable man was the Governor of Medinipur in the north. This man was Gopinath Barajena, brother of Ray Ramananda. When Gopinath was charged with misappropriation of a huge amount of state revenue, Prataprudra ordered for his execution. But Chaitanya pleaded on behalf of that doomed Governor, and as a result, Gopinath was

pardoned by the King. Unfortunately enough, Gopinath was not only pardoned but also reinstated in his post of the Governor of the northern division. When the Muslim invasion from Bengal was only a matter of days, such a faithless, weak and treacherous officer was allowed to continue in charge of Orissa's northern frontier simply because Sri Chaitanya wanted it. These are only a few incidents how Chaitanya interfered in the Orissa politics. It is wonderful that this great intellectual did not understand the evil effects of his own conduct in the affairs of the State. It is wonderful how he did not realise that politics was no ethics. It is equally amazing how Prataprudra allowed such an unwarranted interference on part of a religious preacher in the political and administrative matters of the State not remembering that religion had no place in politics. He should have equally realised that he as a King and an administrator must not be so weak in his administrative matters and must not be guided by those who understood nothing of politics and who cared nothing for his dangers and responsibilities. Both the saint and the king are responsible for their own failings, the saint being too political and the king being too religious; both neglected their individual limits, and both by their concerted mistake paved the path for the downfall of Orissa.

When Prataprudra could have tried to regain his lost prestige and territory after his early reverses, the influence of Chaitanya on him did not allow him

to do so. Once he became a true disciple of the saint, he had none of his ambition to fight for. For twenty years of his royal career he remained as a Bhakta and during that long period he never thought of his political responsibilities. But during that period grounds were prepared for the loss of Orissa's independence. That Prataprudra lost his ancestral dominions and never tried to regain them back is in itself a fact for which he can never be forgiven. But his greatest betrayal to his nation remains in the fact that he did not try to protect the very independence of only that part of his ancestral domain which still remained under his sway, Orissa. Prataprudra ruled Orissa for twenty years after his loss of empires. During that period the Muslim power of Bengal was making brisk preparation to conquer Orissa. Prataprudra knew it. It was sufficiently within his power to have organised a strong military defence for the kingdom of Orissa. If the Gajapati could not maintain a mighty empire, at least he could have certainly maintained a small kingdom. But unfortunately for Orissa, Prataprudra did not try to save her from the coming invasions even though he was fully conscious of that. The immense military strength of Kalinga which Prataprudra inherited from his father and grandfather melted away like a piece of ice when this Gajapati paid no heed towards it. Not only that Prataprudra did not try to preserve the great imperial militarism of his forefathers, but it was he who

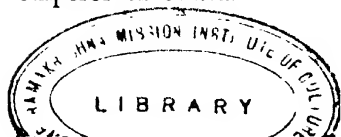
sounded the death knell of that mighty system. With Prataprudra on the throne the military spirit of his people ebbed out for ever. While Chaitanya was preaching the gospels of non-violence and diverting the psychology of the nation from a spirit of war to that of peace, Prataprudra renounced his faith in sword and neglected his army and defence. The contemptuous disposition of the King towards his army, his declared policy of peace and non-violence, and his total negligence of the national defence, all resulted in the complete breakdown of the military system of Orissa. In those medieval days when the strength and efficiency of the army purely depended on the personal interest and supervision of the King himself, Prataprudra withdrew all his interest from the army. Without the interest of the King the military system of Orissa collapsed like a house of cards. This was the real downfall of an independent kingdom. The policy of disarmament, championed by the Gajapati just on the eve of the Muslim invasions from Bengal, was the last dose of poison administered on the independent existence of Orissa. Prataprudra closed his eyes in 1540 or 1541. But before his death the spirit of independence was long gone from the Kingdom of Orissa.

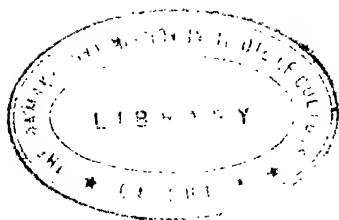
A few years that separated the death of Prataprudra and the Muslim conquest of Orissa were years of intense internecine strife, bloodshed, murders, secret negotiations with the enemy and civil war.

Prataprudra was the last King of the Surya dynasty. Born and brought up in a degenerated age none of his sons was able to ascend the throne. Prataprudra had many sons, but all of them were put to death one by one by the treacherous minister, Govinda Vidyadhara. This man had typified in himself the demoralised conduct of a royal court, even when Prataprudra was alive. But the kindness of the Gajapati, left Vidyadhara unpunished. Prataprudra was paid back with the blood of his own children for his kindness. When the Surya dynasty was thus extinguished, Govinda Vidyadhar proclaimed himself to be the Gajapati of Orissa. For eight years from 1541 this man ruled over the destiny of a dying kingdom. The invasions from the Musalman quarters continued as usual. Govinda Vidyadhara was completely powerless to face the enemies. Inside Orissa civil wars became the order of the day. Small native States in the hilly wilds raised their heads. When Vidyadhara was succeeded by his son Chakra Pratap, the royal authority had been limited to a very small territory. This man was one of the worst specimens of cruelty and despotism, and a shameful representative on the throne of the Gajapatis. According to the Mughal historian Abul Fazl, Chakra Pratap was killed by his own son, Narasimha. But this parricide was himself assassinated by a general named Mukunda Harichandan. For the time being Mukunda placed Raghuram, the younger brother of the assassinated Narasimha, on the throne,

but after a while he caused Raghuram to be murdered and proclaimed himself to be the king of Orissa in 1559. This Mukunda Harichandan is known to history as Mukunda Dev. For nine years Mukunda Dev maintained his crown, but those were the last years of an independent Orissa. In 1560, one year after the accession of Mukunda Dev, the Sultan of Bengal Ghyasuddin Jalal Shah conquered Orissa as far as Jajpur. This Muslim invasion was invited by the treacherous chiefs of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar who did not recognise the rule of Mukunda Dev. The latter however succeeded in driving out the invaders from Orissa and once more pushed the frontier of his kingdom as far as the river Hooghly. But seven years after this incident final preparations were made in Bengal for the conquest of Orissa. The then Sultan of Bengal, Suleiman Karrani, himself led a great army straight in a southward direction from his capital towards Orissa. Another great army under Bayazid, son of Suleiman, proceeded towards the capital of Orissa via Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. At the face of this worst calamity the internecine strife in Orissa did not cease. When Mukunda Dev was besieged in the fort of Kotsima by Suleiman Karrani, he sent two of his generals, Durga Bhanj and Chhot Ray, to fight with the enemy. But both these Oriya generals were bribed off by the Sultan and both of them now stood against their own master. While Mukunda Dev was thus betrayed by his own

generals and was besieged by the powerful enemy, the Mussalmans under Bayazid proceeded as far as the capital Cuttack. Unexpectedly the capital was attacked and captured. In this supreme hour of grave national danger, the powerful Chief of Saranga Garh, Ramchandra Bhanja, declared his hostility against Mukunda Dev and proclaimed himself to be the King. At the news of this utter faithlessness of Ramchandra, Mukunda Dev patched up a treaty with the Sultan at Kotsima and hastened towards Cuttack. On his way Mukunda Dev met the treacherous Ramchandra at a place called Gohira Tikiri in the district of Balasore. In the battle that ensued between the armies of Mukunda Dev and Ramchandra, Mukunda Dev was killed. With the death of Mukunda Dev the independence of the medieval Orissa came to an end. Ramchandra Bhanja was ultimately put to death by the son of Suleiman Karrani, Bayazid. It is said that on the very day that Mukunda Dev fell in the hands of his own people, the treacherous Ramchandra was killed by the Mussalmans. The sad episode of Gohira Tikiri took place in the year 1568. Soon after the field of Gohira Tikiri had seen the last setting sun of an independent Orissa, that illustrious general of the Sultan of Bengal, the Hindu convert Kalapahad, desecrated the sacred shrines of Bhubaneswar and Puri. All this took place only twenty-seven years after the death of Prataprudra Dev, the last Surya emperor of Orissa.





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